This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

TOPICAL SURVEY OF UNITED STATES HISTORY

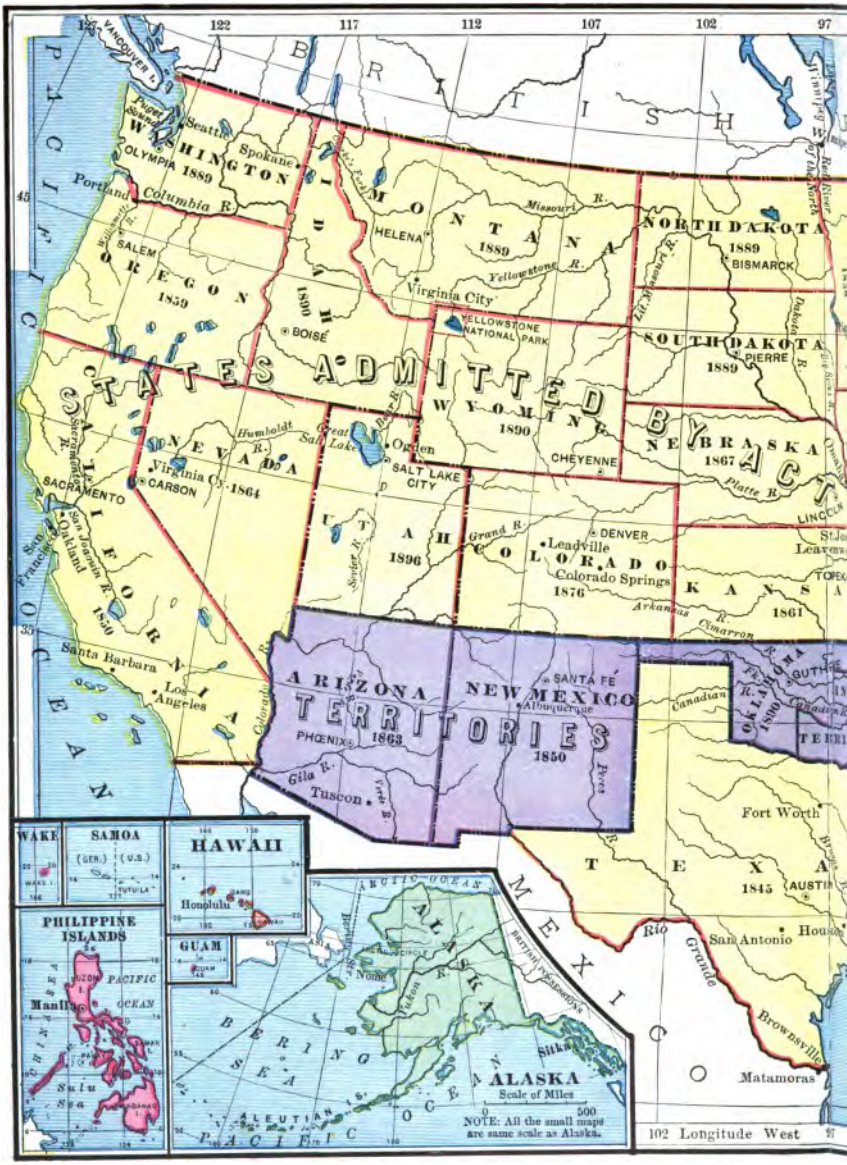
CORNMAN

GERSON

Educ T 709.09.300

From
Ed'l Extension
3 Bradford st.
Lowell, Mass.

3 2044 097 039 184


122
117
112
107
102
97
45
35
BRITISH
PACIFIC OCEAN
WASHINGTON
OLYMPIA 1889
Seattle
Spokane
Portland
Columbia R.
OREGON
SALEM
1859
MONTANA
1889
HELENA
Missouri R.
NORTH DAKOTA
1889
BISMARCK
Virginia City
Yellowstone R.
YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
BOISÉ
1890
SOUTH DAKOTA
1889
PIERRE
STATES ADMITTED BY ACT
WYOMING
1890
CHEYENNE
NEBRASKA
1867
Platte R.
Humboldt R.
Great Salt Lake
Ogden
SALT LAKE CITY
NEVADA
Virginia City
1864
CARSON
CALIFORNIA
1850
SACRAMENTO
San Francisco
Oakland
UTAH
1896
DENVER
COLORADO
Leadville
Colorado Springs
1876
KANSAS
1861
Arkansas R.
Cimarron R.
Santa Barbara
Los Angeles
ARIZONA
TERRITORIES
1863
NEW MEXICO
SANTA FÉ
Albuquerque
1850
PHŒNIX
Gila R.
Tucson
Pecos R.
Canadian R.
OKLAHOMA
1890
Fort Worth
TEXAS
1845
AUSTIN
Rio Grande
San Antonio
MEXICO
Brownsville
Matamoras
WAKE
SAMOA
(GER.)
(U.S.)
HAWAII
Honolulu
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
GUAM
Manila
Luzon
Sulu Sea
ARCTIC OCEAN
ALASKA
Nome
Yukon R.
Sitka
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
PACIFIC OCEAN
Scale of Miles
0 500
NOTE: All the small maps are same scale as Alaska.
102 Longitude West

R. D. Servess, Eng'r, N.Y.

A BRIEF TOPICAL SURVEY OF UNITED STATES HISTORY

BY

OLIVER P. CORNMAN, PH.D.

PRINCIPAL NORTHWEST SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

AND

OSCAR GERSON, PH.D.

PRINCIPAL LOCUST STREET GRAMMAR SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

BOSTON, U.S.A.

D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS

1909

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

COPYRIGHT, 1901,
BY D. C. HEATH & CO.

PREFACE

THIS little work has been prepared in response to a general demand for a text-book which could be employed in teaching United States history by means of topical reviews. The topical outlines found in many of our best text-books have proved unsatisfactory as a means of review, since their use does not result in much more than a mere restudy of the original text. In order to present the historical review from new and interesting points of view, many teachers have found it necessary to prepare outlines or syllabi of lectures that their classes may be furnished with definite material for study. The present work is an outgrowth of a series of such notes prepared by the authors for use in their respective schools.

The necessity for review is universally admitted. Almost all courses of study call for topical reviews in the various subjects of instruction, especially in history. Sound psychological and pedagogical considerations demand that this review should not consist of mere repetition, but should, as far as possible, be presented in fresh guise, and aid the pupil in organizing the knowledge which he has already acquired. The various elements of the matter to be reviewed should be closely interrelated, essential features emphasized, and a broader range of view disclosed, so that the knowledge as a whole may form an apperceptive system to which future acquisitions may be readily related. In the present work the attempt has been made to furnish a text for such a method of reviewing United States history.

In adding this book to the large number of text-books on United States history already published, the authors feel that a further word of apology or justification is demanded. Many text-books attempt to steer a middle course between a reading book and study book. This attempt seems a rather unfortunate one, as neither end is attained, the result being a book not interesting enough to constitute a good reading book, nor yet concise enough for purposes of study. The present work is frankly a book to be studied. The elimination of all unnecessary detail has made possible the preparation of a brief, yet

comprehensive, review. Of course, the book assumes a previous detailed study of the facts of United States history, being intended for the use of pupils who have completed the study of one of the ordinary school histories. It is, therefore, especially adapted for use in higher grammar grades or in high schools.

For certain practical reasons, a comprehensive review of United States history by pupils of the upper grammar grades is very desirable. A large majority of such pupils do not enter the high school, and it is therefore important that they should not go out into the world with their knowledge of history an inchoate mass of details, but that they should have, as far as possible, a broad knowledge of the history of their country and an intelligent attitude toward its institutions.

Acknowledgments are due to Professor Franklin Spencer Edmonds, of the Central High School, Philadelphia, who kindly read the manuscript of the work and made several valuable suggestions. The authors are also greatly indebted to Professor William MacDonald, of Brown University, for valuable assistance in the revision of the proof sheets.

O. P. C.
O. G.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
June, 1901.

CONTENTS

PART I

ORIGIN AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Discoveries and Explorations	2
II.	Colonization of America — Establishment of English Supremacy	14
III.	The War for Independence	30
IV.	The Adoption of a New Form of Government	40
V.	Establishment of the New Government	52

PART II

TROUBLES AT HOME AND ABROAD

VI.	Troubles with Foreign Countries	64
VII.	Indian Wars — Slavery and the Civil War	76

PART III

FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY

VIII.	Financial History	96
IX.	History of Political Parties	108

PART IV

GROWTH AND PROGRESS

CHAPTER		PAGE
X.	Growth in Territory and Population	124
XI.	Progress in Science and the Useful Arts	138
XII.	Progress in Education	154
XIII.	Growth of American Literature	166
XIV.	Problems of To-day and the Near Future	178

APPENDICES

A. The Constitution of the United States 1

B. Glossary of Terms 43

C. Comparative View of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain 47

LIST OF MAPS

The United States and its Possessions (*double page, colored*) *Frontispiece*

PAGE

Map of Early Voyages 9

Map to illustrate the French Explorations (*in text*) 11

Map of the Spanish Claim (*in text*) 12

Map of the English Claim (*in text*) 12

Map of the French Claim (*in text*) 13

Map of the Dutch Claim (*in text*) 13

Central North America, 1755, at the Beginning of the French and Indian War (*colored*) 28

Central North America, 1763, after the French and Indian War (*colored*) 28

Reference Map for the Revolution. Northern and Middle States (*colored*) 34

Reference Map for the Revolution. Southern States (*colored*) . 38

Lewis and Clark's Route (*in text*) 60

Route of the National Road (*in text*) 61

Reference Maps for the War of 1812 67

Map of the Mexican War (*in text*) 71

Territory acquired from Mexico as the Result of the Mexican War (*colored*) 72

The United States in 1820, showing the Missouri Compromise . . 83

Reference Map for the Civil War, 1861–1865 (*double page, colored*) 90

Campaigns in Virginia (*in text*) 92

Territorial Growth of the United States, 1783–1867 (*double page, colored*) 128

The Centre of Population, from 1790 to 1900 (*in text*) . . . 132

The Westward Movement of Population (*in text*) 133

Chart showing how the Number of Immigrants has varied . . 135

Map of the Erie Canal 146

A WORD TO THE TEACHER

THIS book is not a digest or chronology to be committed to memory by the pupils. It should rather be looked upon as notes taken in advance, as it were, for the pupils, to be utilized by them for purposes of home study, in order that the essentials of the instruction may be fixed and retained. The study of each part and chapter should supplement, not precede, the careful presentation of the topic by the teacher.

The teacher, in his presentation of the subject, should have recourse to such works as would invest it with a real and live interest. For this purpose original sources should be employed as far as possible. A very suggestive treatment of such sources for younger pupils will be found in "Studies in American History" by Mary S. and Earl Barnes. For more extensive work of this character Hart's "American History told by Contemporaries" will be found very useful. The teacher will also find in John Fiske's series of histories and in John Bach McMaster's great work, "The History of the People of the United States," many topics presented so clearly and graphically as to be well within the range of comprehension of pupils of the higher grammar grades. Appropriate selections from these and other works should be read and discussed in class, and the pupils should be encouraged to make use of the great standard histories for collateral reading and for the preparation of essays upon special topics. Many of the historical articles of current literature may be similarly utilized, and the pupils' reading of fiction may also be directed along historical lines.

Channing and Hart's "Guide to the Study of American History" will be found an invaluable reference book for the teacher of history.

PART I

ORIGIN AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

CHAPTER I

The Period of Discovery and Exploration

	PAGE
The Renascence and its Consequences	3
Spanish Discoveries and Explorations	6
English Discoveries and Explorations	7
French Discoveries and Explorations	10
Dutch Discoveries and Explorations	12
Conflict of Claims	13

CHAPTER II

Colonization of America and Establishment of English Supremacy

Period of Colonization	15
The English Colonies — Settlement of the Atlantic Coast	16
The New England Colonies	16
The Middle Colonies	18
The Southern Colonies	20
Government of the Colonies	21
The French in America	25
The Establishment of English Supremacy	26

CHAPTER III

The War for Independence

Causes of the Revolutionary War	31
Principal Events of the War	34
First Period (1775–76, principally in New England and Canada)	34
Second Period (1776–78, principally in the Middle States)	37
Third Period (1778–81, principally in the Southern States)	39

CHAPTER IV

The Adoption of a New Form of Government

Consolidation of Colonies	41
Early Plans for General Union	43
Steps leading to the Constitution	44
Articles of Confederation	46
Formation of the Constitution	48

CHAPTER V

Establishment of the New Government

Domestic Affairs	53
Foreign Complications	56
Growth and Development	59

CHAPTER I

THE PERIOD OF DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The Renascence and its Consequences. — 1. The Renascence. 2. The New Spirit shown in Geography. 3. The Trade with India. 4. New Geographical Ideas — Christopher Columbus. 5. Search for a Passage through the New Continent. 6. Motives of Early Explorations.

Spanish Discoveries and Explorations. — 7. Superiority of the Spanish Claim. 8. Discovery and Exploration of Florida. 9. Discovery of the Mississippi. 10. First Permanent Settlement in America. 11. The Spanish Claim.

English Discoveries and Explorations. — 12. Voyages of the Cabots. 13. Other English Explorers. 14. First Attempts at Colonization. 15. The English Claim.

French Discoveries and Explorations. — 16. Early French Explorers. 17. Exploration of the Mississippi Valley. 18. The French Claim.

Dutch Discoveries and Explorations. — 19. Henry Hudson. 20. The Dutch Claim.

Conflict of Claims. — 21. Dutch and French Possessions secured by the English.

CHAPTER I

THE PERIOD OF DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

I. The Renascence and its Consequences

1. The Renascence. — For about a thousand years after the fall of Rome (476 A.D.) civilization declined. Very little attention was given to learning; ignorance and superstition prevailed. This period is often termed the Dark Ages. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, Europe awoke, as it were, from its long intellectual slumber. This period of awakening is known as the **Renascence.** Various causes helped to produce it. One of the important events of the period was the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. Hundreds of Greek scholars fled before the conquering Mohammedans, and carried learning and a zeal for study with them to Italy and other parts of Western Europe. Numerous books were thus brought to the notice of eager students in Italy, Germany, England, France, and Spain, and libraries were formed. There was increased activity of thought in all fields, but especially in science, with the result that numerous inventions were made. Among these were the **printing press**, which helped to spread the newly acquired learning; **gunpowder**, which, taking the place of the crude weapons of earlier times (spears, lances, etc.), made the foot-soldier the match of the mounted knight; and the **astrolabe** and **compass**, which rendered possible the extensive voyages of this period.

2. The New Spirit shown in Geography. — Geography was one of the sciences which received especial attention. The old ideas in regard to the shape and size of the earth were questioned. Crusaders who had travelled over Europe and Asia into Palestine to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the Moham-

medans, came back with much interesting and wonderful information about the countries and peoples they had visited. As a result of these accounts, many were impelled to travel and make geographical discoveries from mere love of adventure. Many of the descriptions of foreign countries were nothing but glowing exaggerations of imaginative writers. These stories, however, were widely read, and did much to create a longing to visit the strange lands and also to obtain a share of the great wealth which they were reputed to possess.

3. The Trade with India. — There had long been a considerable trade carried on between India and various Mediterranean ports. Venice and Genoa especially were centres of this commerce, importing large quantities of spices, silks, and precious stones. The pirates who infested the Mediterranean, and the brigands of the deserts who plundered the caravans on their overland routes to the Indies, made the commerce particularly dangerous. Another route to India was therefore eagerly sought. One of the first plans to suggest itself was that of sailing around the southern point of Africa and thence northeast to India. This attempt was successfully made by the Portuguese, whose excellent geographical position gave them a great advantage. In 1487 a Portuguese navigator, **Bartolomeo Diaz**, discovered the Cape of Good Hope, and ten years later (five years after America had been discovered) **Vasco da Gama** succeeded in reaching India by sailing around the coast of Africa.

4. New Geographical Ideas — Christopher Columbus. — At the same time that these discoveries were being made, the writings of the ancients which had now found their way into Western Europe were being eagerly read by large numbers of students. In many respects the people of Europe had retrograded during the Middle or Dark Ages. Superstition and ignorance characterized many of their beliefs. This was especially true of geography. Most of the people of that day believed the earth to be flat, although some of the ancient writers and geographers had reached the conclusion that it

was round. Among those who were bold enough to adopt the ancient belief was the Genoese sailor, **Christopher Columbus.** So sure was he in regard to the true shape of the earth that he wished to make the attempt to reach India by sailing west. With the aid of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain he finally succeeded in fitting out three small vessels. After a discouraging voyage of seventy days the island of San Salvador, one of the Bahama Islands, was sighted (**1492**). He also discovered Cuba and other islands of the West Indies, taking possession of all the land in the name of the King and Queen of Spain. He made three other voyages, in one of which, 1498, he touched the mainland of America at the mouth of the Orinoco River. Columbus did not know that he had discovered a new continent, but thought that the land was India. Many others made this error, which was natural enough since they were ignorant as to the real size of the earth, thinking it much smaller than it really is, and had no suspicion of the existence of a large continent between Europe and Asia.

5. **Search for a Passage through the New Continent.** — It soon became known, however, that the newly discovered land was really a new continent, and not merely a portion of Asia. Numerous attempts were then made to find a way through or around it. **Nunez de Balboa,** a Spaniard, while searching for gold in Central America, discovered the Pacific Ocean (1513). This led to the belief that the whole continent was very narrow, and explorers became anxious to find a water route through it, so that they could reach the coveted shores of India. **Magellan,** a Portuguese, in command of a Spanish fleet, by sailing through the straits which bear his name, in 1520 discovered the first and only practicable water route which has been discovered through America. One of the vessels of the fleet succeeded in circumnavigating the globe, thus definitely proving the earth to be round.

6. **Motives of Early Explorations.** — As soon as it became known that a new continent had been discovered, various nations of Europe hastened to claim its territory. Spain, Eng-

land, France, and Holland were most active, and all sent out explorers to take possession of the land in the name of their respective sovereigns. In addition to these expeditions, however, there were many who sailed to the New World from other motives, — to acquire riches, to Christianize the natives, and some merely to seek adventure. A knowledge of these early discoveries and explorations is important, as the different nations of Europe based their claims to land in the New World upon them.

II. Spanish Discoveries and Explorations

7. Superiority of the Spanish Claim. — Of the various nations Spain had probably the best right to claim the newly discovered land. It was in Spain that Columbus had secured the assistance which enabled him to make the famous voyage of discovery, and he had taken possession of the land in the name of the Spanish king and queen. Spain's formal claim to the New World was based upon an edict of Pope Alexander VI (1493), who had divided the "Heathen Lands" between Spain and Portugal, the line of demarcation leaving for Portugal, however, but a small portion of what is now known as Brazil. There were two other important Spanish explorers who helped to justify Spain's claim. These were **Ponce de Leon** and **Ferdinand de Soto**.

8. Discovery and Exploration of Florida. — **Ponce de Leon** had been governor of Porto Rico, but on being removed from that office he determined to make explorations to the northward. Two important motives led him to take this step. These were the hope of discovering gold and of finding the "Fountain of Youth" which was reported to exist in that region. He was disappointed in both of these expectations, but he took possession of the southern portion of North America (1513). He named the country Florida on account of having landed on Easter Sunday, called in Spanish *Pascua Florida*. He later made an unsuccessful attempt to colonize the country that he had discovered.

9. Discovery of the Mississippi. — In 1539 **De Soto** undertook to subdue Florida. He set out from Cuba with a large force of men and horses, determined to find treasures of gold and to conquer the Indians. The expedition was one of the most cruel recorded in history, and the disappointment of their hopes in regard to gold was richly deserved. Only half of the number who started out reached the Spanish settlements in Mexico, and these were in a most miserable and wretched plight. They had wandered for two years through the region which now comprises the states of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. They finally discovered the Mississippi River, in whose waters De Soto himself was buried.

10. First Permanent Settlement in America. — Menendez, who was sent out to conduct an expedition against some French intruders in Florida, succeeded in driving them out and in founding St. Augustine (1565) — the first permanent settlement in America.

11. The Spanish Claim. — As a result of these discoveries and explorations by De Leon and De Soto, as well as the original discovery of America by Columbus, Spain laid claim to a large portion of North America. Florida was the name given to this region. It stretched northward without any definite limit, embracing a large part of the territory now occupied by the United States.

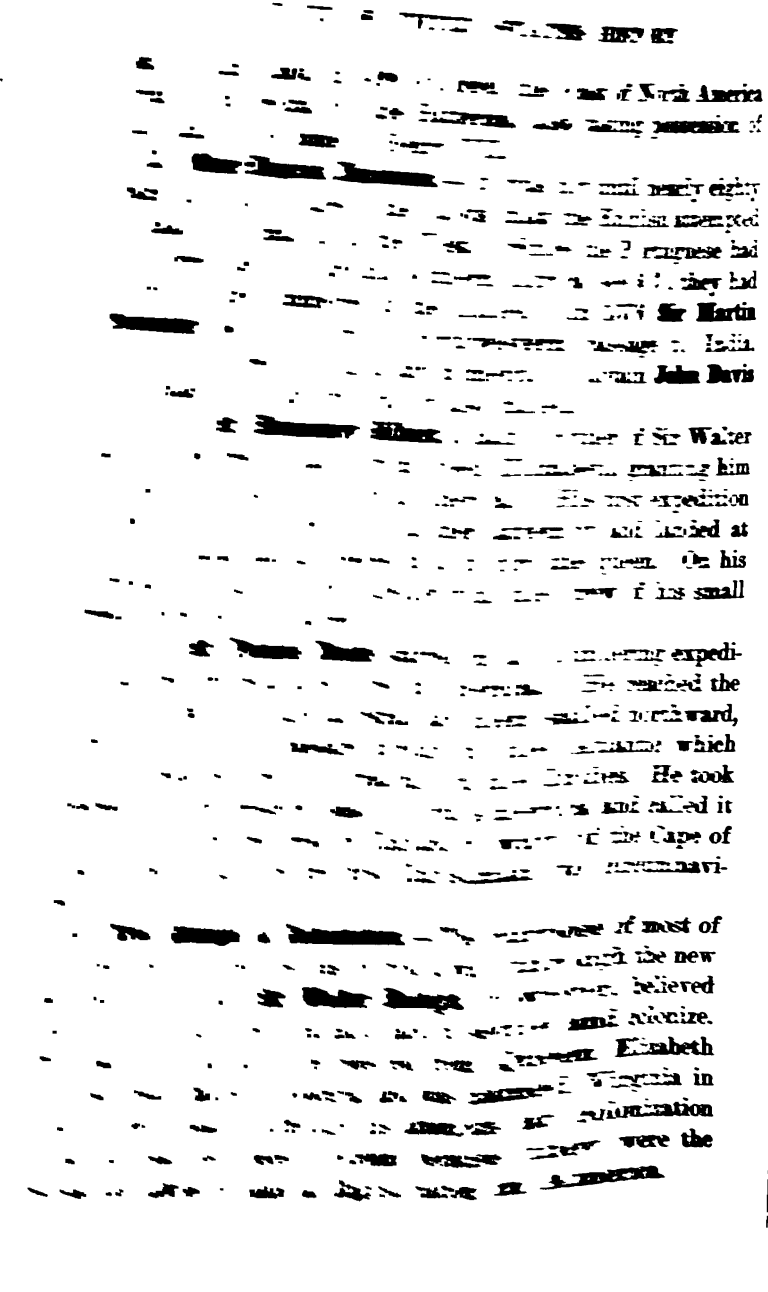
III. English Discoveries and Explorations

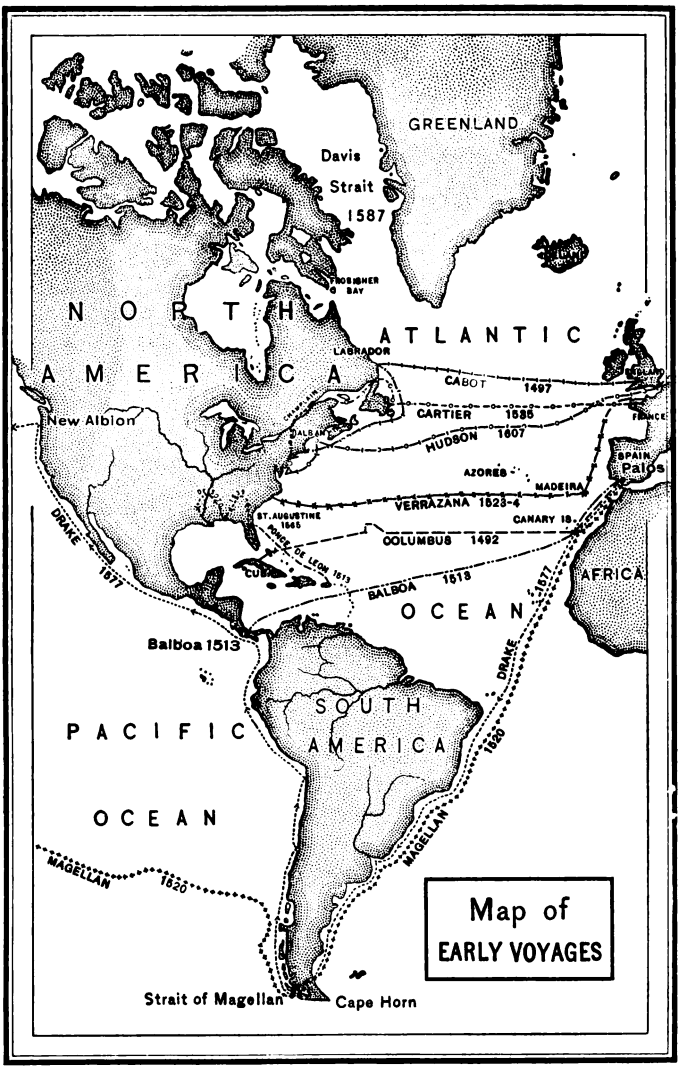
12. Voyages of the Cabots. — **John Cabot,** a Venetian, living in Bristol, England, was possibly the first to discover the continent of America (1497). Henry VII, who was then king of England, encouraged him to voyage westward, as Columbus had done, in order to find a "northwestern passage" to India and China, and thus secure the trade of that region for England. He failed in this, but seems to have discovered the mainland of America, landing somewhere in the region about the mouth of the St. Lawrence. He took possession of the land in the name of the king of England. Sebastian Cabot, a

land, F
explor
respect
ever,
other
and s
early
natio
upon

7.
Spai
cove
assi
disc
of t
Ne
(14
an
ho
Th
to
Fe

h
t
w
T
r
l
(
l




GREENLAND
Davis
Strait
1587
FROBISHER BAY
N O R T H
A T L A N T I C
A M E R I C A
LABRADOR
CABOT 1497
New Albion
CARTIER 1535
HUDSON 1607
FRANCE
SPAIN
Palos
AZORES
MADEIRA
VERRAZANA 1523-4
ST. AUGUSTINE 1565
CANARY IS.
COLUMBUS 1492
PONCE DE LEON 1513
CUBA
BALBOA 1513
AFRICA
DRAKE 1577
O C E A N
Balboa 1513
DRAKE 1580
S O U T H
P A C I F I C
A M E R I C A
O C E A N
MAGELLAN 1520
MAGELLAN 1826
Map of
EARLY VOYAGES
Strait of Magellan
Cape Horn

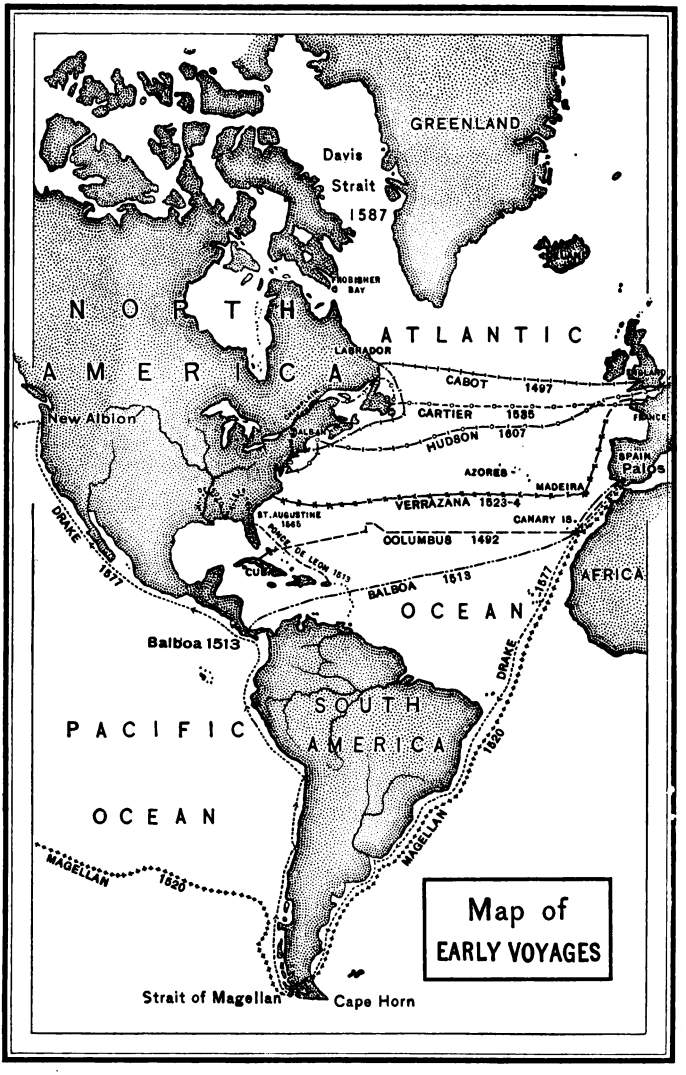
son of John Cabot, in 1498 explored the coast of North America from Nova Scotia to Cape Hatteras, also taking possession of this land in the name of Henry VII.

13. Other English Explorers.—It was not until nearly eighty years after the voyages of the Cabots that the English attempted to make explorations in the West. Since the Portuguese had discovered the route around southern Africa (see § 3), they had controlled the commerce of the Indies. In 1576 **Sir Martin Frobisher** set out to find a northwestern passage to India, but accomplished nothing of any moment. Captain **John Davis** later made a similar attempt, but also failed.

In 1578 **Sir Humphrey Gilbert**, a half brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, secured a charter from Queen Elizabeth, granting him any lands he might discover in America. His first expedition failed, but in 1583 he made another attempt and landed at Newfoundland, taking possession of it for the queen. On his homeward voyage Gilbert, together with the crew of his small vessel, were lost in a storm.

In 1577 **Sir Francis Drake** started on a plundering expedition against the Spaniards in South America. He reached the Pacific by way of Magellan Strait and then sailed northward, expecting to find a passage through to the Atlantic which might be used as a route for trading with the Indies. He took possession of the western coast of North America and called it New Albion. He returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope, being thus the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe.

14. First Attempt at Colonization.—The purpose of most of the previous explorations was to find a way through the new continent to India. **Sir Walter Raleigh**, however, believed that America might be a valuable land to settle and colonize. The grant of land which he received from Queen Elizabeth extended from Maine to Georgia, and was named Virginia in honor of the queen. Although his attempts at colonization proved failures, they were important because they were the first serious efforts to plant an English nation in America.


GREENLAND
Davis
Strait
1587
FROBISHER
BAY
N O R T H
A T L A N T I C
A M E R I C A
LABRADOR
CABOT 1497
New Albion
CARTIER 1535
HUDSON 1607
SPAIN
Palos
AZORES
MADEIRA
VERRAZANA 1523-4
ST. AUGUSTINE
1565
CANARY IS.
COLUMBUS 1492
DRAKE 1577
CUBA
BALBOA 1513
AFRICA
O C E A N
Balboa 1513
DRAKE 1577
SOUTH
P A C I F I C
A M E R I C A
1580
O C E A N
MAGELLAN
1520
MAGELLAN
Map of
EARLY VOYAGES
Strait of Magellan
Cape Horn

15. The English Claim. — As a result of these discoveries and explorations, especially those of the Cabots, England laid claim to all the land from Florida to Labrador on the Atlantic coast, and westward to the Pacific.

IV. French Discoveries and Explorations

16. Early French Explorers. — No attempt was made by the French to obtain possessions in the New World until 1523, when an exploring expedition under **Verrazzani** was sent out by Francis I. He explored the coast of North America from North Carolina to Newfoundland in 1524, discovering New York and Narragansett bays.

Cartier was the next Frenchman to explore the New World. In 1535 he discovered the St. Lawrence River and sailed up to what is now the city of Montreal. He later made an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony in Canada.

In 1608 **Champlain**, a famous French explorer, sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec, establishing the first permanent French colony in America. He later set out on an exploring expedition, getting as far south as the lake which bears his name, and claiming the country for France.

17. Exploration of the Mississippi Valley. — The main purpose of the French Jesuit missionaries, members of a Roman Catholic order, in coming to America was to convert the heathen to the Catholic faith. These missionaries were fired with religious zeal, and spared themselves no pain or privation to secure their ends. They accomplished a great work in the conversion of the Indians, living in the regions which they explored, at the same time taking possession of the land in the name of France.

In 1673 **Joliet**, a French explorer and trader, together with **Father Marquette**, a Jesuit priest, started on an expedition from Canada to find the Mississippi River. They made their way in canoes until they finally reached the river and were borne by the current to the region which De Soto had explored over a hundred years before. They feared to go farther south on account of the unfriendliness of the Indians. They then

had to paddle up the river against the current to their starting-place.

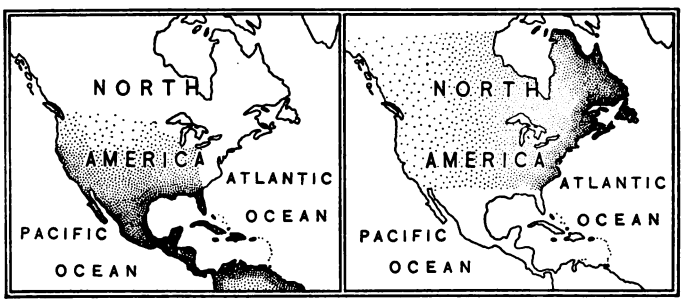
Six years later (1679) an attempt was made by **La Salle** to

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE FRENCH EXPLORATIONS

complete the work begun by Joliet and Marquette. He went down the Mississippi, building forts on his way, and, after suffering great hardship, succeeded in reaching the Gulf of

Mexico. He had previously explored the Ohio. To this entire region he gave the name of Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV, then king of France. Chicago, Mobile, and New Orleans were indirectly the result of these explorations.

18. The French Claim. — New France embraced the region from New York to Labrador on the Atlantic, and included Acadia (Nova Scotia), Canada, and the basin of the Great



SPANISH CLAIM ENGLISH CLAIM

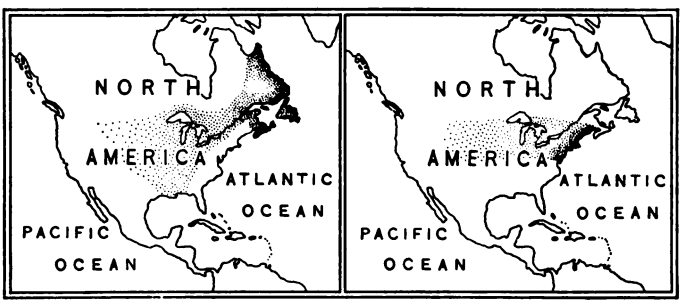
Lakes and the Mississippi River. The claim to it was founded chiefly on the discoveries of Verrazzani, Cartier, and La Salle.

V. Dutch Discoveries and Explorations

19. Henry Hudson. — The motive which prompted the first Dutch exploration was to find a passage through the continent to India and China. This work was intrusted to Captain **Henry Hudson**, an Englishman in the employ of Holland. He reached the east coast of Greenland and explored the surrounding region. Later, in 1609, he set out in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He reached Nova Scotia, then sailed southward, exploring the coast as far as Chesapeake Bay. He then explored the river named for him, ascending it as far as the spot where Albany now stands. In 1614 Holland, finding from Hudson's report that a valuable fur trade could be carried on with the Indians, took possession of the valley of

the Hudson River, naming it New Netherland. In 1623 the Dutch built a fort on the upper Hudson, which they named Fort Orange. They also made a treaty with the Iroquois Indians, which the latter kept faithfully.

20. The Dutch Claim. — New Netherland extended from Cape May to Nova Scotia and indefinitely westward, the claim to it being founded upon Hudson's discoveries and explorations.



FRENCH CLAIM DUTCH CLAIM

VI. Conflict of Claims

21. Dutch and French Possessions secured by the English. — It will be seen from the accompanying maps how the claims of these nations conflicted. This overlapping of claims, however, did not lead to serious trouble until the country became more thickly settled. In 1664 the English, under Nicolls, took possession of New Netherland and changed its name to New York. England thus had control of the Atlantic coast of North America, while the French held Canada and the Mississippi Valley, and the Spanish, Florida and Mexico.

The dispute over conflicting claims was ended by the French and Indian War. The battle of Quebec, one of the decisive battles of the world, settled the question of supremacy in North America. France retained two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland. Spain lost Florida, and England finally obtained control of North America east of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER II

COLONIZATION OF AMERICA AND ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH SUPREMACY

Period of Colonization. — 22. The Seventeenth Century. 23. The Most Successful Nations. 24. Length of the Colonizing Period.

The English Colonies — Settlement of the Atlantic Coast. — 25. Causes of Difference in the Characteristics of the Colonies. 26. The Three Zones.

The New England Colonies. — 27. The Puritans in New England. 28. Growth and Prosperity.

The Middle Colonies. — 29. Motives of the Settlers. 30. New Netherland. 31. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. 32. Lord Baltimore and Maryland. 33. Growth and Prosperity of the Middle Colonies.

The Southern Colonies. — 34. Virginia. 35. Character of Settlers and Early Difficulties. 36. The Colony firmly Established. 37. The Carolinas and Georgia. 38. Character and Mode of Life.

Government of the Colonies. — 39. The Three Forms of Colonial Government. 40. Charter Government. 41. Proprietary Government. 42. Royal or Provincial Government. 43. Common Features of these Three Forms. 44. Differences. 45. Effects upon the Rights of the People. 46. Special Local Features of Government. 47. The Town System of New England. 48. The County System of Virginia.

The French in America. — 49. Attempts at Colonization. 50. Work of the Missionaries. 51. Efforts to establish an Empire.

Establishment of English Supremacy. — 52. Origin of the Conflict. 53. Intercolonial Wars. 54. The French and Indian War. 55. Important Strategic Points. 56. First Important United Action of the Colonies. 57. Success of the English. 58. The Treaty of Peace. 59. Effects of the French and Indian War.

CHAPTER II

THE COLONIZATION OF AMERICA AND ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH SUPREMACY

I. Period of Colonization

22. The Seventeenth Century. — The history of America for about one hundred years after its discovery by Columbus is one of further discoveries, explorations, and occasional attempts at settlement. It was not until the seventeenth century that the true colonizing spirit developed and settlements were made by those who really wished to establish for themselves and their descendants permanent homes in the New World.

23. The Most Successful Nations. — England and France were the nations which were most successful in conducting these colonizing enterprises. The Spanish, it is true, had made the first permanent settlement (St. Augustine, 1565) and had triumphed over the French in securing possession of the southern part of North America. The Dutch also had attempted to develop New Netherland. The latter, however, were soon swallowed up by the greater power of their rivals, the English, who needed the Hudson River for both commercial and military reasons. The main motives of the Spanish — love of gold and conquest — were not the foundation on which to build prosperous colonies. Absence of worthy motives for colonizing, lack of industry and defects of government, prevented the growth of Spanish power in America, although at one time it had looked as if Spain might control the whole continent. Spain made a brilliant beginning and then stood still, while England and France, who failed at first, were suc-

cessfully developing a New England and a New France in the New World.

24. Length of the Colonizing Period. — The colonizing period extended over about one hundred and fifty years, during the last half of which the English and French were disputing for the supremacy in a series of wars in which the English colonists finally triumphed (Quebec, 1759).

II. The English Colonies — Settlement of the Atlantic Coast

25. Causes of Differences in the Characteristics of the Colonies. — In reviewing the history of the thirteen original colonies it is important to note certain great differences in the characteristics of the settlers and of the colonies which they established. While all the colonies were English (Delaware, settled by the Swedes, New York and New Jersey by the Dutch, were soon afterward acquired by the English), and nearly all the people spoke the same language and professed the same religion, yet quite different classes of people, actuated by different motives, had settled the country along the Atlantic. Differences of soil, climate, products, etc., of the regions settled also produced marked contrasts in the general character of the several colonies. The Puritans of New England were decidedly different in habits, manners, and customs from the slave-holding settlers of Virginia. The Quakers and Dutch of the Middle colonies also gave a distinctive character to that region.

26. The Three Zones. — The colonies may be conveniently studied in three groups: —

1. The New England colonies, or northern group.
2. Colonies of the middle zone.
3. Virginia and the far South.

III. The New England Colonies

27. The Puritans in New England. — The Puritans did not believe in all the forms and ceremonies of the Established Church of England. Some of them who believed in separat-

ing entirely from the English church (Separatists), being unable to secure the liberty to worship as they pleased, fled to Holland, where they enjoyed full religious freedom. On account of their wanderings, they were afterward known as **Pilgrims**.

But though the Puritans were willing to exile themselves from their native land for the sake of their beliefs, their love of country was so strong that they could not content themselves in the midst of a foreign, though friendly people, and at the risk of their descendants ceasing to be English. Facing great difficulties, they determined to secure religious and civil liberty on English soil — the soil of the New World. They were compelled to live in a rude, primitive way in the new country, engage in the arduous labors of reclaiming its wilderness, face the rigors of a severe climate, and fight a savage foe — the Indians. They endured all this with great fortitude; led simple, fearless, upright lives, and governed themselves well and justly, though their laws were harsh and severe. They had great respect for learning, and early established schools and colleges. They were also deeply religious and worshipped in the plain manner that seemed best to them. Yet they refused to allow others the religious liberty which they themselves so highly prized, but persecuted those who disagreed with them. Their banishment of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson and their persecution of the Quakers are the most notable instances of this intolerance.

The great hardships which the Puritans were willing to undergo for the sake of their ideas of right and liberty, their courage and determination in overcoming these hardships, and their intolerance of opinions and practices different from their own, show the strong and peculiar character of the people who first settled New England.

28. Growth and Prosperity. — The soil being poor, the people engaged in shipbuilding and commerce, and many found employment in the great cod fisheries. Thousands of emigrants from England sought the shores of New England, and the colonies grew and prospered.

IV. The Middle Colonies

29. Motives of the Settlers. — Just as the Puritans had founded a New England, the Dutch attempted to found a New Netherland and the Swedes a New Sweden. The latter attempt was short-lived, the settlement being conquered by the Dutch and absorbed into New Netherland. The Quakers under **Penn** and the Catholics under **Lord Baltimore** settled Pennsylvania and Maryland respectively in order to secure religious liberty. The motives which led to the settlement of the Middle colonies were thus similar in some respects to those of the New Englanders. There were such great differences, however, in the character both of the people and of the country in which they settled, that the Middle colonies were quite unlike those of New England.

30. New Netherland. — The Dutch, after Hudson's discoveries, were attracted to the valley of the Hudson by the opportunities for profitable fur-trading with the Indians which that region offered. They soon became interested in farming also, which they developed by means of the patroon system. They were a thrifty, peace-loving people, and with few exceptions allowed full religious liberty to every one. So many people of different nationalities came to New Amsterdam that it became very cosmopolitan, a characteristic which it retains to this day. The people of New Netherland were not warlike enough to hold their own against the English and became an English colony, prosperous under English as it had been under Dutch rule. Though the Dutch were conquered, the influence of their simple manners and customs is felt to the present day, especially in the valley of the Hudson.

31. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. — New Jersey was sold to Quakers and settled by them. This led to the founding of Pennsylvania by **William Penn** as an asylum for the persecuted Quakers and the oppressed of other creeds. The tolerant spirit of the Quakers was in marked contrast to the narrow religious views of the Puritans. Penn called the

colony his "Holy Experiment," and endeavored to base it upon the Golden Rule, which he rightfully thought the red man would be able to understand and appreciate. The success of the undertaking, and especially the friendly relations which he established and maintained with the Indians, were due to Penn's wisdom and his great ability as a governor. He afterward became proprietor of Delaware.

32. Lord Baltimore and Maryland. — Lord Baltimore, another wise and good proprietor, founded in Maryland a colony for persecuted Catholics. More religious freedom was allowed here than in any other colony. It accordingly became a refuge not only for Catholics, but for the oppressed of all creeds. This religious liberty prevailed however only while Lord Baltimore was governor. His enemies, unfortunately, triumphed over him for a time, and Catholic worship was prohibited until Lord Baltimore regained the power which he had employed in such a liberal spirit.

33. Growth and Prosperity of the Middle Colonies. — New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore became important commercial centres; but the people of the Middle colonies generally engaged in farming to a much greater extent than did those of New England. Maryland, however, with its large plantations and few towns, bore a greater resemblance to the Virginia colony than it did to those of the middle and northern sections.

The Middle colonies maintained much more friendly relations with the Indians than did those of New England. The most remarkable example of this was the success of Penn in securing the friendship of the Indians for the peaceable Quakers. The Dutch and Quakers of this whole section were kindly, simple-minded people. They lived plainly and had quaint customs, but they were not harsh and severe like the Puritans. Both Penn and Lord Baltimore endeavored to rule in a broad, liberal spirit, and granted to the colonists a degree of civil and religious liberty unknown to the other colonies, and indeed to all the rest of the world.

V. The Southern Colonies

34. Virginia. — The Virginia colony was the first permanent English settlement in the New World. **Raleigh** had spent nearly $1,000,000 in attempts "to plant an English nation in America," which, though unsuccessful, kept up an interest in the New World and set an example for later and more permanent settlements. It happened about 1600 that hundreds of Englishmen were out of employment. Emigration was suggested, and Virginia was declared to be "a door which God had opened for England." Hence companies were formed and chartered by the king (London and Plymouth companies). The settlement of Jamestown (1607) was the result of the efforts of the London Company.

35. Character of Settlers and Early Difficulties. — Many of the first emigrants were "gentlemen" unused to work, and filled with the idea of getting rich quickly and returning to England. They were not persevering and industrious like the northern colonists, but were fond of gayety and luxurious living. The original plan of colonial life (communism) tended to encourage them in their idleness and to discourage the few who were industrious. Trouble with the Indians added to their difficulties, and it is no wonder that the settlement almost failed. The energy of John Smith saved it from extinction.

36. Colony firmly Established. — The arrival of men and supplies and the wise though harsh rule of **Governor Dale**, who abolished the foolish communistic plan and forced each man to work for his own living, gave the colony a new lease of life. The discovery of the value of **tobacco** firmly established the colony. It also led to important results by the encouragement which it gave to negro slavery.

37. The Carolinas and Georgia. — The other Southern colonies were settled much later and by various peoples. French Huguenots, Germans, and Scotch Highlanders joined the original English settlers. In the Carolinas the English settlers were

emigrants from England, Virginia, and Barbados who had become dissatisfied with life in these places. In Georgia they were poor people who had been released from debtors' prisons in England through the philanthropy of Oglethorpe. The cultivation of **rice** and **indigo** was almost as important for this region as tobacco had been for Virginia.

38. Character and Mode of Life. — The Southern colonists lacked both the simplicity of character and the patient industry which characterized the Puritans of New England and the Dutch and Quakers of the Middle colonies. They were not so deeply religious and were not troubled by religious controversies to the same extent as were the people of some of the other colonies.

Plantation life did not favor the growth of large cities, and this, together with the institution of slavery, tended to divide society into classes, — (*a*) the wealthy plantation owners, and (*b*) the slaves and poor whites. Labor was looked upon as degrading. The aristocratic landowner or gentleman of the South thus formed a marked contrast to the thrifty, industrious farmer and mechanic of the North.

VI. Government of the Colonies

39. The Three Forms of Colonial Government. — Though the English colonies were all under the control of the same mother country, they had three distinct forms of colonial government, known as the Charter, the Proprietary, and the Royal or Provincial.

40. Charter Government. — To some of the colonies the king granted charters which conferred the power of government upon the people. The charters were somewhat similar to our present state constitutions. They defined the powers of government and secured many valuable rights to the people. The people elected their own governor and the members of both houses of the legislative assembly. The king had so little to do with the government of the charter colonies that they really resembled small independent republics. Massachu-

setts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had the charter form of government, although Massachusetts under its second charter lost the privilege of electing its own governor. The charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island were so liberal that they were retained without change as state constitutions until 1818 and 1842 respectively.

41. Proprietary Government. — Some of the colonies were under the control of a proprietor, to whom the king had granted both the land and the power to rule it. The proprietor either ruled it himself or appointed a governor. He also appointed a council; but the people elected representatives to the assembly. The powers granted the proprietor

FACSIMILE OF PART OF THE ROYAL DEED GIVEN TO PENN

were so great that he was in effect a sort of local prince, and the proprietary colony resembled, in its form of government, a limited monarchy: limited, because the people elected the lower house of the assembly. Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware had proprietary forms of government. New York, New Jersey, the Carolinas, and Georgia were under the proprietary form of government for a time. The plan proving unsatisfactory, they later became royal provinces.

42. Royal or Provincial Government. — In most of the colonies the king neither granted a charter to the people nor conferred the power of government upon a proprietor, but appointed a governor himself. He also appointed the governor's council, although the people were allowed to elect the lower house of the assembly. The colonies ruled in this way were under the royal or provincial form of government, and

were called Royal Provinces. At the beginning of the Revolution, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were royal provinces.

43. Common Features of these Three Forms. — The three forms of colonial government were alike in four important respects: —

1. In each form there were two houses constituting the assembly or law-making body, and also a governor. This was like the government of England. The plan of having an executive officer and two houses is exemplified to-day in our national, state, and many city governments. In the nation we have the President and Congress, consisting of the Senate and House of Representatives; in each state there is a governor and a legislature, also consisting of two houses, named as are the two houses of Congress; in many cities we have the mayor and councils, consisting of two houses, often called aldermen and common council.
2. In each form of colonial government the lower house was elected by the people.
3. In all the colonies the governor had absolute veto power upon any act of the legislature.
4. No colony was permitted to pass any law contrary to the laws of England.

44. Differences. — The colonies differed as to the manner of appointment of the governor. In the royal colonies the governor was appointed by the king; in the proprietary, by the proprietor when he himself did not act as governor; in the charter colonies he was elected by the people. In the royal colonies the council was appointed by the king; in the proprietary, by the proprietor; in the charter the council was elected by the people.

45. Effects upon the Rights of the People. — By the nature of their government the provincial colonies were most dependent on the king and Parliament. The people of these colonies

consequently had fewest political rights. The proprietary colonies were dependent on a local ruler, the proprietor. They had greater privileges and rights than the provincial colonies, though this was due, not to the nature of the government, but to the fact that they chanced to have good proprietors. The charter colonies were the least dependent on the king and Parliament, and had greatest political freedom. In exercising the rights granted them by their charters they learned how to govern themselves, and the political institutions which resulted were often superior to those of the other colonies.

46. Special Local Features of Government. — As there were great differences in the character and mode of life of the colonists of the Northern, Middle, and Southern sections, so they developed certain distinct features in local government. The most important of these were the Town System and the County System of government.

47. The Town System of New England. — The New England colonies had a system of local government called the Town System. It was a pure democracy. The surface of the country was laid out in districts called towns. The government of the town was vested in a **Town Meeting** held once a year, at which every male citizen was expected to be present and was at liberty to address the meeting and vote on any subject that might come up. This was **democratic** because each person was taking part in the government himself, and not by a representative. The spirit of independence was kept alive by the discussions which arose at these meetings, and the ultimate revolt of the colonies was due in some measure to the uniform opposition which the New England towns displayed to the unjust enactments of Parliament.

48. The County System of Virginia. — Plantation life, and the tendency to aristocracy which this life developed, did not encourage anything like a town meeting. A body of leading men attended to the government of each county. They had the power of filling vacancies in their own body, so the people had little to do with choosing them.

Other systems of local government, which resembled in some particulars each of the above, and which may therefore be called **Mixed Township-county Systems**, were developed by the colonists of the Middle region.

VII. The French in America

49. Attempts at Colonization. — While the English were firmly establishing themselves along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia, the French were making extensive explorations in Canada and the Mississippi Valley. They were endeavoring to found a great French empire in the New World. Their first successful attempt to plant a colony in Canada was the founding of Quebec by Champlain in 1608, a year after the settlement of Jamestown by the English.

50. Work of the Missionaries. — The French explorations and settlements were not made for commercial and patriotic reasons only, but sprang also from the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries to convert the Indians to Christianity. The missionaries led lives of great self-sacrifice, bravely penetrating the wilderness and enduring fearful hardships. They established numerous missions and trading-posts. (See map, page 11.) As a result of their labors, the French gained such great influence over the Indians of the Northwest that the latter served as allies of the French in their wars against the English.

51. Efforts to establish an Empire. — The French turned their attention chiefly to the fisheries and the fur trade with the Indians. They were not successful farmers, and as a consequence failed to develop thriving settlements like those of the English colonies. They endeavored, however, to strengthen and defend their claim to the vast region which they called New France by building a chain of forts from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi. The strength of the French was due to (1) their military training; (2) the despotic form of government, which assured united action; (3) their ability to control the Indians and secure them for their allies. Their main element of weakness consisted in the fewness of their

numbers. Their communities did not increase rapidly on account of the absence of agricultural interests, the rigorous climate of Canada, and a faulty system of government.

VIII. Establishment of English Supremacy

52. Origin of the Conflict. — We have seen how the French and English settlers in America came to lay claim to different regions of the continent. France had control of the immense regions bordering on the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi and its tributaries. The work of building forts throughout this vast domain was energetically begun by La Salle and continued by his successors. It was very evident that the French regarded America, not as a temporary possession, but rather as the possibility of a future empire, which would make France a power in the New World. All this time the English colonists had been prospering and living contentedly in the narrow strip of land bordering on the Atlantic Ocean. The Alleghanies stood as an effective barrier to their western migration. It was inevitable, however, that a conflict should arise between the French and the English, not so much on account of their differences in religion and customs, but because of the enmity of the mother countries, France and England. It was the long war between these two nations in Europe which really first brought the English and French colonists into conflict. They were, however, the more ready to take up the quarrel of the mother country because of their own quarrels over fisheries, fur-trading, and territorial boundaries. The question to be decided was "which should be the ruling nationality in North America — French or English?" and it required a long series of wars to answer it. In these wars the French were generally assisted by the Indians, with the exception of the Iroquois of New York, who faithfully kept a treaty of friendship with the English and assisted them in their battles.

53. Intercolonial Wars. — It is customary to divide the conflicts which thus took place from 1689 to 1763 into four wars,

the first three being named after the monarchs then reigning in England. It was, however, but one war with long intermissions. The first three wars made little change in the territorial possessions of France and England. The treaties of peace generally restored to their original owners places which had been captured. This was not the case with Acadia, however, which remained in possession of the English at the close of Queen Anne's War, its name being changed to Nova Scotia. Perhaps the most important event of these wars was the taking of the strongly fortified fortress of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, by Colonel Pepperrell of Maine with a small force of American or "Yankee" soldiers. There were two important results of this victory: (1) it stopped the French piracy among the fisheries; (2) it inspired the colonists with confidence. The latter was perhaps the greatest effect, and had, in connection with the additional encouragement given by the French and Indian War, far-reaching consequences.

King William's War (1689–97), Queen Anne's War (1702–13), King George's War (1744–48), French and Indian War (1754–63).

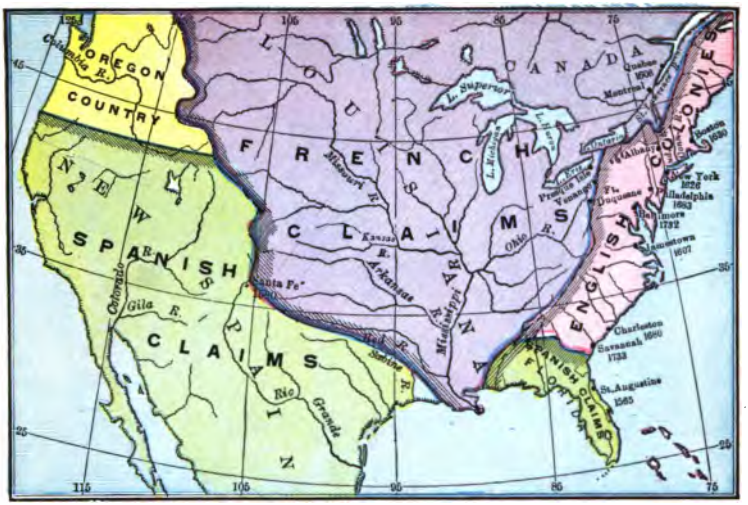
54. The French and Indian War (1754–63). — The French and Indian War was the last of the intercolonial wars. The English had been practically inactive while the French had been fastening their hold on the entire Mississippi Valley as far east as the Alleghanies. Fearing at last, however, that this part of the country might be entirely lost to them, the English decided to plant a colony near the Ohio River. As all this region was claimed by the French, they stoutly resisted the encroachments of the English intruders. To protect their rights, they built a new line of forts from Erie to where Pittsburg now stands. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington, then a young man of twenty-one, with a message to the French commander of one of the new forts; but as an unsatisfactory answer was received, it became apparent that force would be necessary to settle the dispute.

55. Important Strategic Points. — The most important points, when we consider their strategic importance, were: (1) Fort

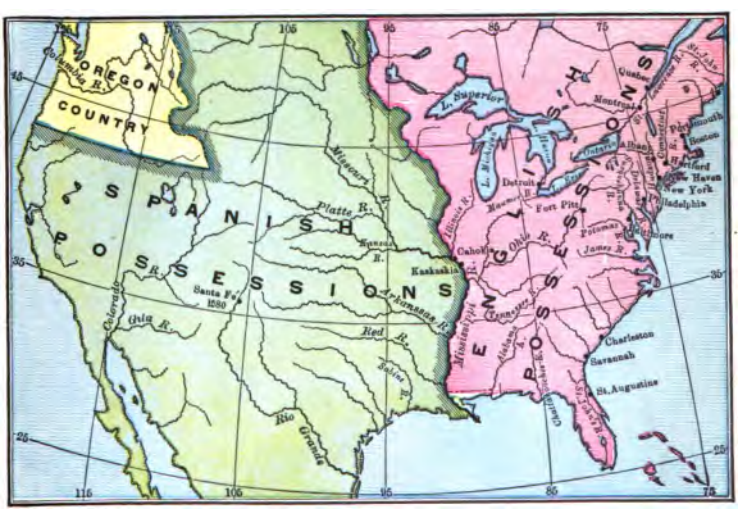
Duquesne, the present site of Pittsburg, which commanded the entrance to the Ohio, and hence the Mississippi River, and was thus the key to the region west of the Alleghanies; (2) Acadia and Louisburg, which protected the French fisheries and, on account of their nearness, menaced New England; (3) Crown Point and Ticonderoga, which protected the internal route to Canada; (4) Quebec, which was the strongest strategic position in North America, having an excellent situation on a high bluff overlooking the St. Lawrence, thus being the key to Canada.

56. First Important United Action of the Colonies. — During the first three intercolonial wars, the New England colonies, and especially Massachusetts, had borne the brunt of the fighting, assisted to some extent by New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In the French and Indian War, however, the colonies had not been drawn into a conflict on account of European disputes between France and England, but on their own account to gain possession of the Ohio Valley. All the colonies became interested in this war and acted together for the first time. They were advised by the British government to unite for the common defence. Delegates were sent to a colonial congress at Albany from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Benjamin Franklin proposed a plan of union which was unsatisfactory, both to England and to the colonies, but which was nevertheless very important as being the first attempt of a large number of the colonies at union.

57. Success of the English. — The war was stubbornly contested by the British soldiers and the colonists on the one side, and the French and Indians on the other. After several reverses, due partly to the ignorance of the British generals in regard to Indian methods of warfare and their unwillingness to profit by the advice of George Washington and other Americans, the English finally succeeded in gaining possession of the important points above enumerated. The success of the war was due largely to the wisdom and energy of



CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1755
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.



CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1763
AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.
(ACCORDING TO PEACE OF PARIS)

Sir William Pitt, who, when he came to have charge of affairs in England, sent over many troops to fight for the colonists.

The war was practically ended by the fall of **Quebec**, "The Gibraltar of America," in 1759. The town was bravely defended by General Montcalm, but was captured after a siege by a daring assault by the British and colonial forces under General Wolfe. Both the commanding generals, Wolfe and Montcalm, lost their lives in this battle, which has been properly classed as one of the decisive battles of the world. It settled once for all the question of supremacy.

58. The Treaty of Peace (1763). — Shortly after the fall of Quebec all Canada succumbed to British rule. In 1763 the treaty of peace was made. It completely changed the political map of North America. Florida, which had belonged to Spain, was ceded to Great Britain. France gave up New Orleans and the vast Louisiana territory to Spain, and ceded Canada to Great Britain. All that France retained of her vast possessions in North America were two small islands near Newfoundland. The English possessions thus included the entire eastern part of North America, from the Arctic Ocean to Florida, and westward to the Mississippi.

59. Effects of the French and Indian War. — Next to the establishment of English supremacy, the most far-reaching result of the French and Indian War was the fostering of the spirit of union among the English colonists. Fighting shoulder to shoulder during the war, they had learned to know and respect each other. The sectional feeling and animosity which tended to keep the colonists apart had been partially wiped out. The way was prepared for the real union which was to come, — a union of independence which was to cement the hitherto rival colonies into a brotherhood, and be known to the world as the United States of America. The French and Indian War in another way indirectly led to the independence of the American colonies, as it was the adoption by England shortly after of a new colonial policy that prompted their first acts of resistance.

CHAPTER III

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

Causes of the War. — 60. Interference with Commerce. 61. Taxation without Representation. 62. British Army in America. 63. First Continental Congress.

Principal Events of the War. — First Period (1775–76, principally in New England and Canada). 64. Operations about Boston. 65. Second Continental Congress. 66. Bunker Hill and the Evacuation of Boston. 67. Expedition to Canada. 68. Growth of the Idea of Independence. 69. The Declaration of Independence.

Second Period (1776–78, principally in the Middle States). 70. Operations around New York and New Jersey. 71. Capture of Philadelphia: Valley Forge. 72. Burgoyne Surrenders: Aid of France Secured.

Third Period (1778–81, principally in the Southern States). 73. The Surrender of Cornwallis: End of the War. 74. The Treaty of Peace.

CHAPTER III

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

I. Causes of the War

60. Interference with Commerce. — England regarded her colonies merely as sources of gain. Dutch vessels had been carrying the commerce of America to a great extent, and it was determined that England should acquire a monopoly of this profitable trade. As early as 1651 the Parliament of England had begun to pass certain laws known as **Navigation Acts,** which bore very heavily on American trade. The Navigation Acts provided that only English or colonial vessels might carry products to the colonies, and that all goods imported by the colonists must come from some English port. In order to evade these discriminating laws, smuggling was resorted to. The laws were poorly enforced, the revenue officers themselves being sometimes guilty of smuggling. After the French and Indian War, however, when George III ascended the throne, it was decided that these navigation laws should be rigidly enforced. **Writs of Assistance** were issued, giving customs officers the right to enter any man's house and search for smuggled goods. The enforcement of the Navigation Acts bore most heavily upon the New England colonies, which had been carrying on a profitable trade with the Spanish and French West Indies. The activity of the customs-house officers served to embitter the colonists, and did much to arouse the spirit of opposition to British rule, which afterward became the demand for independence.

61. Taxation without Representation. — Perhaps a still more fruitful source of bad feeling was the attempt to raise money

by levying taxes on the Americans without their consent. The colonists were not represented in Parliament, and they believed that their rights as English subjects were assailed by being thus taxed. The passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, requiring the colonists to use stamps on all important documents, pamphlets, and newspapers, was greeted with a storm of protest and indignation. The reason given for the passage of the act was that the Americans should help pay for the support of a British standing army in America. The colonists contended, however, that no standing army was necessary, as the war was not likely to be renewed. They also vigorously opposed the idea of a standing army, feeling that it would be a menace to the degree of self-government they already enjoyed. **Patrick Henry**, the famous orator of Virginia, voiced the sentiments of the people and aroused them to a great pitch of excitement by his fiery eloquence and — as the British called them — treasonable utterances. **James Otis** of Massachusetts was particularly emphatic in denouncing the injustice of Great Britain's treatment of the colonies, and gave expression to the ideas of the colonists in the assertion that "Taxation without representation is tyranny." **Samuel Adams**, the "Father of the Revolution," also denounced the act in strong terms. The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, but England still claimed the right to tax the colonists.

STAMP USED IN 1765

In 1767 another tax was ordered, requiring a duty to be paid on all imported glass, paper, paints, and tea. This tax likewise met with stubborn resistance, and Parliament decided to remove all the taxes except a very low tax on tea. But the colonists were now opposed to the *principle* of taxation without representation, and the shiploads of tea sent over to America were either sent back or destroyed. In Boston, the contents of the vessel were thrown overboard (Boston Tea Party).

62. British Army in America. — The idea of maintaining a British standing army in America was bitterly opposed by the colonists. The support of the British soldiery was one of the reasons assigned for the obnoxious taxes. The acts of opposition on the part of the colonists enraged the King and Parliament of England, and a law was passed closing the port of Boston until reparation should be made for the destruction of the tea, and proper respect shown to the king. Moreover, the people of Massachusetts were no longer to be allowed to govern themselves, but were to be under the military rule of General Gage, who was ordered to Boston with several regiments of soldiers. There were frequent quarrels between these soldiers and inhabitants of Boston. In one of these conflicts (1770) the British soldiers fired upon a mob which had been insulting them, and five persons were killed and four dangerously wounded. This was known as the **Boston Massacre** and served to add fuel to the rage of the colonies. In 1772 the *Gaspee*, a British war vessel which had run aground in Narragansett Bay, was captured and burned by residents of Providence. Some historians regard this affair as the real beginning of the Revolution.

TABLET COMMEMORATING THE BOSTON MASSACRE
In State Street, Boston

63. The First Continental Congress. — The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1774, and petitioned England for a redress of grievances. All the colonies except Georgia were represented in this congress. There was no talk of independence yet. England, however, gave a deaf ear to the calm, respectful, yet firm demands of the American colonies.

II. Principal Events of the War

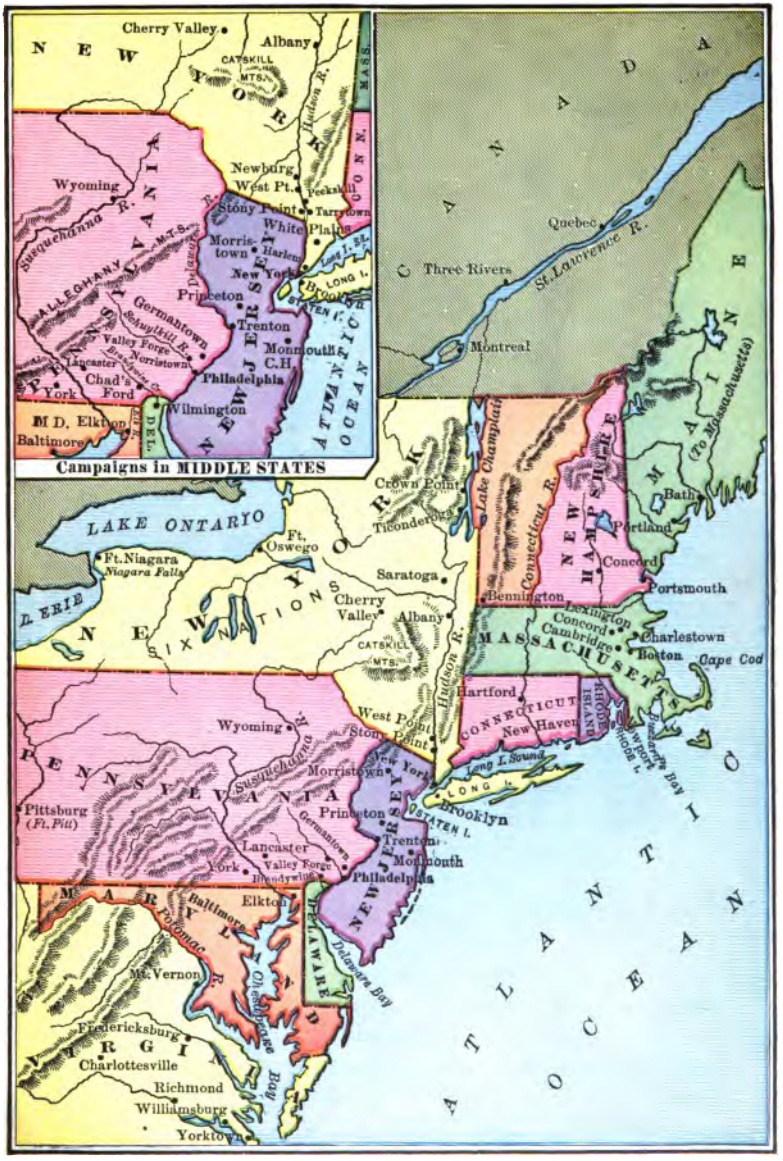
First Period — 1775–76

PRINCIPALLY IN NEW ENGLAND AND CANADA

64. Operations about Boston. — As the most violent opposition to England came from Massachusetts, and troops had been sent over to force these colonists into submission, it was natural that the first military operations of the war should occur there. The Boston Massacre and the destruction of the *Gaspee* were but a preface. The first real fighting occurred April 19, 1775, when the British made an attempt to destroy some military stores at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. On the way they stopped at Lexington to arrest the "arch rebels," Samuel Adams and John Hancock. A conflict occurred here between the British soldiers and some "minute men," *i.e.* men ready to fight at a minute's notice, and seven Americans were killed. At Concord the British destroyed the military stores. Meanwhile the farmers and other inhabitants had been aroused, and many of the British were killed on their retreat to Lexington and thence to Boston.

65. Second Continental Congress. — In the meantime the Second Continental Congress had met at Philadelphia (May 10, 1775). While it still recognized George III as the rightful sovereign of the colonies, it prepared for the war which had already begun. Measures were also taken to defray the expenses of the war, and **George Washington** was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental army.

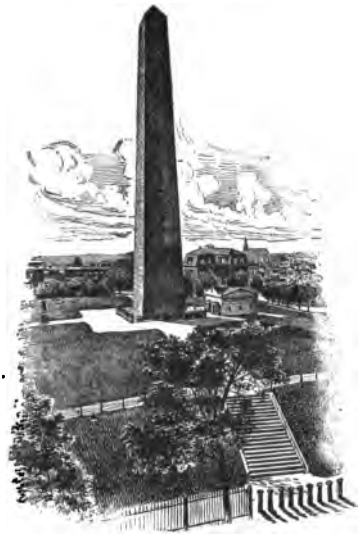
66. Bunker Hill and the Evacuation of Boston. — The first really important battle of the war, known as the battle of Bunker Hill, resulted from an attempt by the British to dislodge the American army from a strong position they had taken on a hill overlooking Boston. The Americans were under command of Prescott, Putnam, and Warren, and numbered about fifteen hundred. The British were twice repulsed; but the third time, owing to lack of ammunition and the disparity of numbers, the Americans were driven



REFERENCE MAP FOR THE REVOLUTION
NORTHERN AND MIDDLE STATES.

back. The loss was heavy on both sides; but though compelled to retreat, the colonists had won a moral victory, as their bravery and determination to fight for their rights had been definitely proved.

During the winter of 1775–76 the siege of Boston was continued by the American forces under Washington. In March, 1776, Washington succeeded in planting his cannon in such favorable positions that the English were forced to withdraw, leaving Boston and sailing to Canada. The American army then entered the city of Boston, which the British never recaptured.



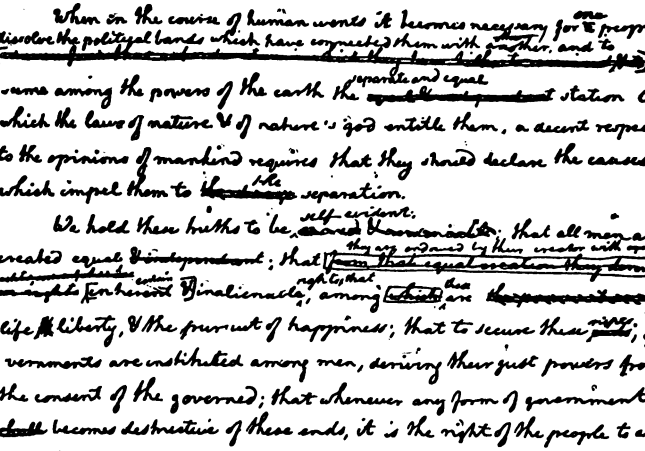
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

67. Expedition to Canada. — While these operations around Boston were in progress, Generals Montgomery and Arnold made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Canada. Montgomery took Montreal, and was later joined by Arnold with a wretched army, sadly diminished by disease and desertion during their heroic march through the wilderness of Maine. The attack on Quebec was a dismal failure; Montgomery was killed, Arnold badly wounded. Shortly after, all the Americans were driven out of Canada.

68. Growth of the Idea of Independence. — All this time the Americans had been fighting, not for independence, but merely for their rights as British subjects. The conduct of England, however, was hastening the time when nothing short of independence would satisfy them. In reply to the colonists' plea for justice and redress of grievances, King George called for troops to put down the rebellion. Early in

1776 a pamphlet was published by **Thomas Paine**, a noted free-thinker, in which it was boldly asserted that the time had come when the Americans must fight for their independence. The pamphlet was entitled "Common Sense." It had an immense sale, and served to excite the people, who saw in it the frank expression of what they themselves really thought, but were afraid to express. The last straw was the news that England had hired Hessian soldiers to fight the Americans.

69. The Declaration of Independence. — In June, 1776, a resolution was offered in the Continental Congress by **Richard**



When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal & independent; that they are endowed by their creator with equal rights; that among these are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Henry Lee of Virginia, "*Resolved that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.*" The resolution was seconded by **John Adams** of Massachusetts, and a committee was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence. The Declaration was written by **Thomas Jefferson** and signed by **John Hancock**, president of the Congress, and other members on **July 4, 1776**. Thus the United States of America had its beginning.

Second Period — 1776–78

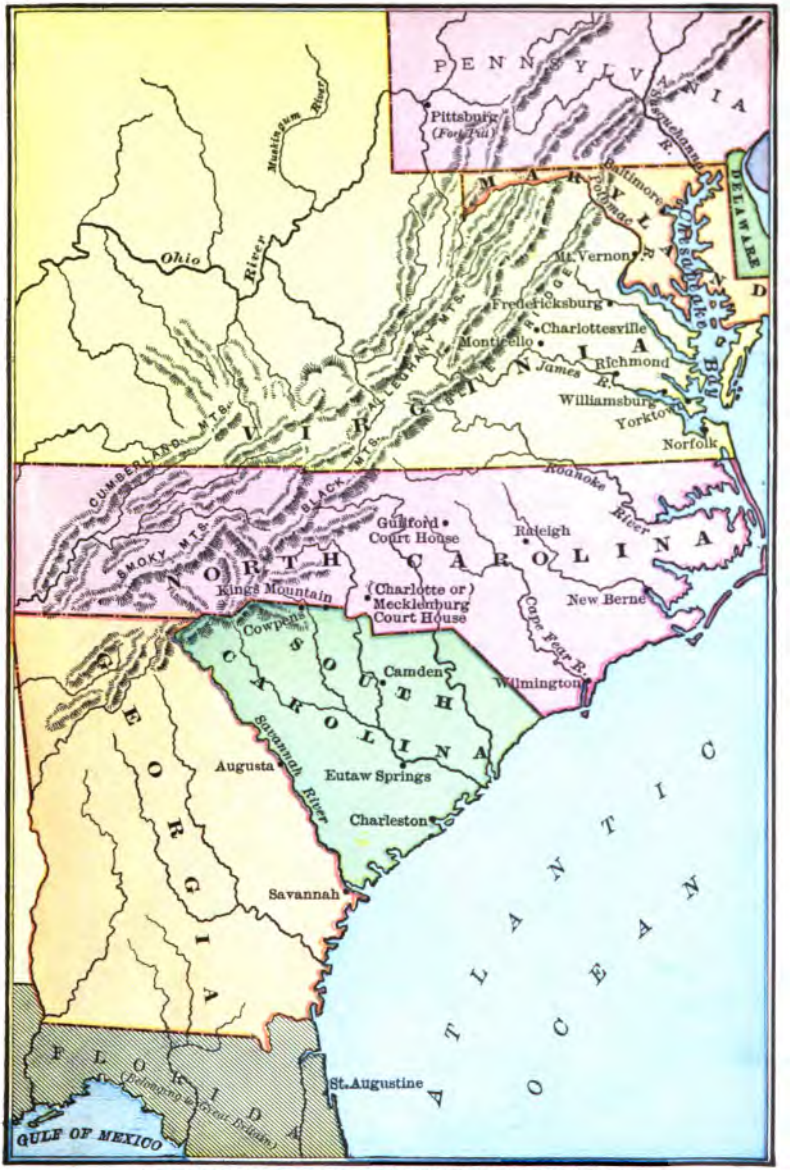
principally in the middle states

70. Operations around New York and New Jersey. — The English now tried to gain possession of the Hudson, so as to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies. The Americans had no fleet; hence if the English had been successful in carrying out their plan, a great advantage would have been gained. They succeeded, although with considerable opposition from Washington, in gaining possession of the city of New York, the Americans making a masterly retreat under cover of night. Washington now retreated across New Jersey, closely followed by the British under Cornwallis. At Trenton he crossed the Delaware, having prevented the enemy from following him by seizing all the boats on that part of the river. On Christmas night (1776), Washington with a force of two thousand men recrossed the Delaware and surprised the Hessians, taking a thousand prisoners and a large amount of ammunition. This unexpected stroke served to revive the drooping spirits of the American soldiers, who were by this time thoroughly miserable and disheartened. Their families were destitute, and the paper money of the Continental Congress, with which they were paid, had practically no purchasing power. It is hard to say what dire consequences might not have arisen had not **Robert Morris**, a prominent financier of Philadelphia, come to Washington's assistance with a loan of $50,000 in coin. It saved the army at a most critical period. Shortly after this Washington again outwitted Cornwallis and gained an important victory at Princeton, inspiring the army with his personal bravery. The American army then took a strong position in the hills about Morristown, from which Cornwallis feared to attempt to dislodge them.

71. Capture of Philadelphia: Valley Forge. — Washington having prevented the British from taking Philadelphia by land, Howe returned to New York and fitted out a naval expedition against the city, then the capital of the United States. He

sailed up the Chesapeake so as to avoid the fortifications on the Delaware, and marched northward. He met and defeated Washington at Brandywine Creek, and thus gained possession of Philadelphia. Washington, after an unsuccessful attack on the British at Germantown, fell back with his army to Valley Forge, where they spent the winter of 1777–78. It was the darkest winter of the war, the sufferings of the army being terrible. Yet the important work of organizing and drilling the army went on. This was largely due to the efforts of **Baron Steuben**, a Prussian military engineer, who had come to this country to assist the Americans in their struggle for independence.

72. Burgoyne Surrenders: Aid of France Secured. — While Howe and Cornwallis had been carrying on their operations in southern New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylania, an expedition had been started under General Burgoyne from the North. He was to march down from Canada and effect a junction with the forces under General Howe, thus securing control of the Hudson and dividing the colonies in two. The expedition, however, was a complete failure. Washington delayed Howe, while Schuyler and Arnold, helped by Daniel Morgan's sharpshooters and the New England farmers, succeeded in so harassing Burgoyne and weakening his army, that the British were defeated at the battle of Bennington, and later at Saratoga. General Burgoyne, with his entire army of about six thousand men, was forced to surrender (**October 17, 1777**). This was a severe blow to the British, as it completely spoiled Howe's plans, and helped the United States to secure the aid of France. On this latter account it may be considered the greatest victory of the war, and it is classed among the decisive battles of the world. The next year, 1778, **Benjamin Franklin**, our minister to France, received a pledge from the king of France, who promised to send money, ships, and men. France also acknowledged our independence. As the British now had France to contend with, Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, feared that a French fleet might prevent his escape from Philadelphia. He therefore abandoned that city and marched across New Jersey to New



REFERENCE MAP FOR THE REVOLUTION
SOUTHERN STATES

York, where most of the British forces were now located. The American forces in New Jersey under Washington watched their movements closely.

Third Period — 1778–81

PRINCIPALLY IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

73. The Surrender of Cornwallis: End of the War. — The British now decided to conquer the South, so that even if they should lose the war, they might at least retain this portion of their former possessions. Their plan was to begin at Georgia and conquer northward. They were at first entirely successful, gaining possession of Georgia and South Carolina. But the persistent guerilla warfare of Marion and Sumter, together with the skilful manœuvres of **General Greene** who was, next to Washington, the ablest American general of the Revolution, finally (1781) forced Cornwallis into Yorktown, Virginia, and shut up the rest of the British in Charleston, South Carolina. **Lafayette**, a young French nobleman who had come to this country, also rendered valuable assistance during this campaign. While Cornwallis was at Yorktown, a French fleet arrived, blocking up the Chesapeake and preventing his escape. Washington seized the opportunity, and leading General Clinton, the commander of the British troops in New York, to believe that he was preparing to attack him, marched rapidly down to the head of Chesapeake Bay, and proceeded thence by vessels to Yorktown. It was the liberality and patriotism of Robert Morris which enabled Washington to accomplish this. It is said that the Philadelphia financier contributed over a million dollars at this time. Cornwallis saw that with the combined forces of America and France against him, resistance would be useless. He accordingly surrendered, October 19, 1781.

74. The Treaty of Peace. — In 1783 a treaty of peace was concluded at Paris. The independence of the United States was acknowledged, with the following territorial boundaries: north by Canada, west by the Mississippi River, south by Florida, which was transferred to Spain.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADOPTION OF A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Consolidation of Colonies. — 75. Causes of Lack of Union among the Colonies. 76. Circumstances favoring Union. 77. Union of Adjacent Towns and Colonies.

Early Plans for General Union. — 78. Plans suggested by Penn and by Franklin. 79. Influence of these Plans. 80. Union against Great Britain.

Steps leading to the Constitution. — 81. The Stamp Act Congress. 82. The First Continental Congress. 83. The Second Continental Congress. 84. The Declaration of Independence.

The Articles of Confederation. — 85. Difficulties of carrying on the Revolution. 86. The Articles of Confederation. 87. Principal Features of the Articles. 88. Defects of the Articles of Confederation. 89. Useful Functions performed by the Articles. 90. State of the Country at the End of the War.

Formation of the Constitution. — 91. Constitutional Convention. 92. Different Plans Submitted. 93. Most Important Compromise Effected. 94. The Constitution Adopted. 95. Leading Members.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADOPTION OF A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT

STEPS IN THE FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

CONSOLIDATION OF COLONIES

1639. Hartford, Weathersfield, and Windsor unite to form Connecticut. Towns on Long Island Sound form New Haven Colony.
1643. The New England Confederacy formed.
1662. Connecticut and New Haven form one colony of Connecticut.
1691. Massachusetts Bay Colony and Plymouth unite.

EARLY PLANS FOR GENERAL UNION

1697. Penn proposes a Plan of Union.
1754. Albany Congress and Franklin's Plan of Union.

UNION AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN

1765. Stamp Act Congress.
1774. First Continental Congress.
1775–81. Second Continental Congress.
1776. Declaration of Independence.

EXPERIMENT AND CHANGE

1781. Articles of Confederation.
1787. Constitutional Convention.
1789. New Government goes into Operation.

I. Consolidation of Colonies

75. Causes of Lack of Union among the Colonies. — At first there was little if any desire for union among the colonies. They were scattered along the Atlantic coast, separated from each other by great distances. The dangers and difficulties of

travel and communication prevented them from thoroughly understanding and sympathizing with each other. · Unimportant differences in character, mode of life or government were sometimes sufficient to retard the growth of friendly feeling. Disputes in regard to boundaries and matters of trade, as well as jealousy of each other's prosperity, frequently induced a spirit of rivalry which strengthened the **colonial** feeling, while it tended to prevent development of **national** sentiment.

76. Circumstances favoring Union. — Nevertheless, there were certain **natural bonds of union** that were more important than the differences between the colonists. The colonists were mainly of English birth or descent, and spoke the same language. They had very many laws and customs similar to those of the mother country. Though the colonial forms of government differed from each other in some important respects, yet they all bore a strong general resemblance to the government of England. In addition to these circumstances, which naturally favored union, the colonists had to face certain **common dangers and enemies** (the French and Indians). Thus they were early taught the lesson that "in union there is strength." They profited by this lesson when the liberties which they had learned to enjoy in the New World were so seriously threatened by England's policy. The **growth of the idea of union** was, however, very gradual. The formation of a really stable and efficient national government did not take place until 1789, six years after the close of the Revolutionary War, and thirteen years after the Declaration of Independence.

77. Union of Adjacent Towns and Colonies. — The early history of the colonies furnished examples of the value of union between separate settlements and colonies. In New England, *e.g.*, we find towns and groups of towns uniting to form a single colony, as in Connecticut and Massachusetts. In the **New England confederacy** we have an example of the union of several colonies. This confederacy was chiefly for the purpose of protection against the Dutch and Indians, and lasted about forty years.

II. Early Plans for General Union

78. Plans suggested by Penn and by Franklin. — Some of the wisest and greatest men of colonial times saw the value of a general colonial union, and on more than one occasion plans for such a union were earnestly discussed. As early as 1697, **William Penn** proposed a plan which included a general colonial congress, to be composed of two delegates from each colony. He also suggested a wise scheme of taxation, which embodied the essential principles in defence of which the Revolutionary War was fought eighty years later.

A colonial congress which met at Albany, 1754, to treat with the Indians, approved of a plan of union drawn up by **Benjamin Franklin.** It provided for a colonial congress, appointed by the colonial assemblies, and a president-general, appointed by the king. The plan was rejected by the colonists, who thought it gave too much power to the king. It was also unsatisfactory to the mother country, because the English thought it gave the colonies too great a measure of independence.

79. Influence of these Plans. — No attempt was made to put either of these plans into operation. But though they had no immediate practical result, yet they prepared the way for other and more successful plans. There can be but little doubt that the common interests and common dangers of the colonists would have led ultimately to the formation of a general colonial government, modelled in some sort after the Albany plan, even if other events had not hastened the union of the colonies.

80. Union against Great Britain. — The intercolonial wars had had the effect of producing a greater feeling of friendliness among the colonists, and had proved that they could unite when necessary. It had also shown the benefits to be derived from concerted action. It was the foolish colonial policy of Great Britain that hastened the formation of that union toward which the colonies were already slowly but inevitably drifting. At first there was little thought of com-

plete independence. The meetings that were held were for the purpose of adopting measures that would secure the liberties of the colonists, and at the same time establish harmonious relations with the mother country. It soon became evident, however, that absolute separation from England was necessary, and the Declaration of Independence was passed by the Continental Congress. The necessity of carrying the war to a successful conclusion, and the difficulty of dealing properly with questions that arose after independence had been gained, forced the problem of a general government upon the people. Their solution of this problem was finally found in the present Constitution of the United States.

III. Steps leading to the Constitution

81. The Stamp Act Congress. — A congress of delegates from nine different colonies was held in New York, October, 1765, to resist the enforcement of the Stamp Act. It made a vigorous protest against the English policy, and sent remonstrances to the king and Parliament. It had no great immediate influence, but it tended to unite the colonies and to prepare the way for future congresses.

82. The First Continental Congress (1774). — This Congress was composed of delegates from all the colonies except Georgia. It met in Philadelphia from September 5 to October 26, 1774.

IMPORTANT WORK OF THIS CONGRESS

1. It issued a Declaration of Rights with addresses to the king and people of England, demanding the right to levy all taxes and make all laws in the colonial legislative assemblies.
2. It voted that obedience was not due to any of the recent acts of Parliament.
3. It recommended the suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain unless the grievances of the colonies should be redressed.

4. It sustained Massachusetts in her resistance, and issued a protest against standing armies being kept in the country without the consent of the people.
5. It recommended the holding of another Congress the next year.

83. The Second Continental Congress (1775). — Shortly after the beginning of the Revolution the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. This Congress continued in session (with occasional adjournments) until the adoption of the Articles of Confederation in 1781.

MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

1. It assumed control of the military operations of the colonies and proceeded to raise the "American Continental Army."
2. It took measures to defray the expenses of the war.
3. It organized a general post-office.
4. It suggested that each colony should organize a state government (eleven colonies did this by framing their first state constitutions; Rhode Island and Connecticut continued under their old charters).
5. It issued the Declaration of Independence.

84. The Declaration of Independence. — This famous Declaration, adopted July 4, 1776, definitely marked the birth of the American nation. Its purpose was to proclaim formally to the world the independence of the colonies that they might be regarded as a nation waging war with Great Britain, and not merely as her rebellious subjects. We may briefly outline its contents as follows: —

1. Preamble.
2. A statement of the rights of men.
3. The reason for establishing governments and a statement of the circumstances under which they may be changed.

4. A statement of the tyrannical acts of the king.
5. An account of the colonists' effort to obtain redress.
6. The declaration, "that these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

IV. The Articles of Confederation

85. Difficulties of carrying on the Revolution. — The colonies met many difficulties in carrying on the Revolution, owing to the absence of a strong union or general government of the states. War time, more than any other, needs a strong government with power to take charge of everything and ability strictly to enforce its orders. The colonies had no such strong general government. Their Congress took charge of affairs as best it could, but it could merely *advise* measures, having very little power to *enforce* them. Out of the necessities of the case grew the plan known as the Articles of Confederation.

86. The Articles of Confederation. — At the same time that the committee was appointed to prepare the Declaration of Independence, another committee was chosen to draft "The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." Congress, after much discussion, adopted the Articles, 1777, and immediately sent them to the states to be approved and ratified. The new government constituted by these Articles was not to go into operation until the consent of *every* state should be obtained. As it was almost five years before all the states ratified them, Congress did not assemble under the Articles of Confederation until 1781.

Meanwhile the Revolution continued, and the states, held together by their common danger, but having no written bond of union, were loosely governed by the Continental Congress.

87. Principal Features of the Articles of Confederation. —

1. The Confederation was declared to be a firm league of friendship between the several states.
2. Congress consisted of but one house, to be composed of not less than two, nor more than seven delegates from each state.
3. Each state had but one vote in the Congress.
4. No provision was made for a president, but executive power was vested in a "Committee of the States," which consisted of one delegate from each state.
5. There was no national judiciary.
6. All matters pertaining to war, finances, intercourse with other nations, disputes between the states, were to be under the control of Congress, but no power was given to Congress to enforce these rights.
7. The Articles could not be amended without the consent of all the states.

88. Defects of the Articles of Confederation. — The Articles of Confederation never proved satisfactory as a plan of union or constitution for the United States. Under them the real powers of Congress were few. Congress could not punish offenders against its own laws, could not compel the raising of a Federal army, the collection of Federal taxes, the regulation of duties on imports, obedience to its own decrees, etc.

89. The Useful Functions performed by the Articles. — Although the Articles were so imperfect, yet they were certainly better than no constitution at all. They accustomed the states to Federal government, and their very defects showed the necessity of and led up to "a more perfect union." For it was the attempt to revise and improve these Articles of Confederation which led to the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States.

90. State of the Country at the End of the War. — The defects of the Articles of Confederation, evident enough during the war, became still more glaring after independence had been gained. The states quarrelled over boundaries and commercial

regulations. Several states issued paper money, and financial confusion and distress increased. Congress was powerless to correct these evils, and it fell into general disrepute as weak and inefficient. There was serious danger of general disunion or disruption of the Confederation, or that England might reconquer piecemeal the nation, which she had been unable to conquer as a whole.

V. Formation of the Constitution

91. Constitutional Convention.— The situation finally became so bad that a general convention of the states, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, was recommended by Congress. (The convention met, May 14, 1787, at the State House in Philadelphia, and continued in session until September 17, 1787.) Washington was unanimously elected President. There were great differences of opinion among the members. The most important question was that of representation in Congress. The members from the small states favored equal representation of states in Congress, those from the larger states contended for a proportional representation, based upon the population of the several states. Slavery was another troublesome question to deal with.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

92. Different Plans Submitted. — Many plans were suggested the most important being: —

(*a*) THE NEW JERSEY PLAN. — This was the plan of the delegates from the small states. It proposed a mere revision of the Articles of Confederation, which should retain the one-house Congress, but provide for an executive officer and a judiciary.

(*b*) THE VIRGINIA PLAN. — This was the plan favored by the large states. It proposed to replace the Articles of Confederation by an entirely new constitution. It was set forth in a series of resolutions which favored proportional representation in both houses of Congress, an executive chosen by both houses, and a judiciary chosen by the Senate.

All during the summer months these plans were debated by the convention. The disagreements were many and at times became very bitter. It frequently seemed as if the attempt to devise a satisfactory scheme of government would end in total failure. **George Washington,** who was the leading spirit in calling together the convention, presided ably over its stormy sessions. **Benjamin Franklin's** great common sense was of the first importance in bringing about compromises without which the Constitution could not have been adopted.

93. The Most Important Compromises Effected. — The most difficult question before the convention was that of **representation.** The delegates from the large states contended that representation in Congress should be according to population. This was opposed by the small states, who feared that the plan would confer dangerous powers upon the most populous states. They contended that the new government should be a "federation of states," in which each state should have equal representation. This dispute was finally compromised by providing for a Congress of two houses, the large states conceding equality in the Senate while the small states conceded proportional representation in the House of Representatives.

The question of **slavery** occasioned bitter disputes between the Northern and Southern states. The delegates from the Northern states, where there were but few slaves, contended that the slaves should not be counted in the enumeration of the population on which representation was to be based. The Southern states held that they should be included in this enumeration. The matter was finally settled by a compromise according to which three-fifths of the slaves should be counted. The Northern and Southern states were also divided in regard

to the importation of slaves. It was finally agreed that the slave trade should not be interfered with prior to 1808.

94. The Constitution Adopted. — The Constitution was finally completed and adopted by the convention, **September 17, 1787.** It was then submitted to Congress, which sent it to the different states to be ratified. It was to go into effect when ratified by nine states. It was ratified —

1787 — by Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.
1788 — by Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, and Maryland.
1789 — by North Carolina.
1790 — by Rhode Island.

95. Leading Members of the Constitutional Convention. — **Alexander Hamilton,** although he strongly opposed in the convention some of the features of the new Constitution, perhaps did more than any one else to bring about its ratification. Together with **James Madison** and **John Jay** he wrote the essays published as *The Federalist*, which did much to convince the people of the wisdom of adopting the new Constitution. Madison had taken a leading part in framing the Constitution. He took notes of the discussions, which proved to be a very valuable report of the meeting. His concluding paragraph is the following characteristic story of Franklin: "Whilst the last members were signing, Dr. Franklin, looking toward the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

rising from a setting sun. 'I have,' said he, 'often and often in the course of this session, and in the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.'"

On **April 30, 1789**, the new Constitution, with George Washington as the first President of the United States, went into operation.

CONGRESS HALL, PHILADELPHIA
National Capital, 1790–1800

CHAPTER V

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Domestic Affairs. — 96. Difficulties confronting the New Government 97. Political Parties. 98. Finances. 99. The Whisky Rebellion. 100. Organization of New Territory.

Foreign Complications. — 101. Washington's Attitude. 102. Early Difficulties with England. 103. France seeks an Alliance: the Genet Affair. 104. Trouble with France. 105. "Second War for Independence." 106. The Monroe Doctrine.

Growth and Development. — 107. Promotion of Industries. 108. Development of the Nation. 109. Development of Democratic Ideas.

CHAPTER V

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

I. Domestic Affairs

96. Difficulties confronting the New Government. — Under the Articles of Confederation, Congress had practically no power to enforce its laws, and the states obeyed or not as they saw fit. **Taxes** could not be levied by the general government, and lack of money, therefore, still further crippled the power of Congress. The **regulation of commerce** was left to the states themselves, and this led to jealousies and rivalries. The foreign commerce was almost destroyed for want of a uniform system. Moreover, the Revolution had left the country deeply in **debt** to France and other countries, to our own soldiers and to those who had lent money to the government, while some of the states wanted to be helped to pay their debts also. These were but some of the difficulties that faced the new government. The Constitution, it was hoped, would remedy these evils. The preamble set forth its objects as follows: to (1) form a more perfect union; (2) establish justice; (3) insure domestic tranquillity; (4) provide for the common defence; (5) promote the general welfare; (6) secure the blessings of liberty. All of these objects were to be attained by provisions of the Constitution. The people anxiously awaited the improvements which it was believed that the new government would effect. But, as William Penn had long ago observed, "Good laws need good men to interpret and enforce them." Happily for the United States of America, good men were not wanting at this critical time.

97. Political Parties (See Part III, Chap. IX). — At first there were two political parties, known as Federalists and Anti-Federalists. The former were in favor of a strong national government; the latter opposed this view, and wished the separate states to retain as much power as possible. They feared that a strong central government would make the United States too much like a monarchy, and thus endanger the liberties of the people. The early difference of opinion in regard to the power that should be granted to the nation and to the states continued to be the real basis of political parties for many years. Washington himself was a Federalist, but he showed great tact and wisdom when he chose representatives of both political views to help and advise him in his duties as President. Alexander Hamilton, the most prominent of the Federalist party, was made Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and a strong Anti-Federalist, became Secretary of State.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

98. Finances. — The new nation was deeply in debt, and money was also needed to carry on the work of the government. Hamilton therefore proposed a plan for raising revenue, according to which a duty or tax was to be laid on all foreign ships entering American ports, and many articles of import were likewise taxed. In 1789 a bill having this end in view was passed by Congress, and custom-house officers were appointed to collect the duties. Hamilton next seized the opportunity to establish our national credit and place the United States on a firm, financial basis. By sound reasoning and persistent personal effort, he induced Congress to provide for the

payment of the national debt. Not only were the debts paid which we owed to France and other countries, and to our own soldiers, and to the men who had lent us money during the Revolution, but the debts of the states were also assumed. The Anti-Federalists opposed this, as they thought it was giving too much power to the central government. Hamilton is deserving of the highest praise for his wisdom and patriotism in establishing the finances of the new government upon a foundation of honesty. The United States Government has never swerved from the sound and honest financial policy thus inaugurated.

99. The Whisky Rebellion. — In 1794 it was decided that a tax should be laid on the manufacture of whisky, in order to raise more money for the government. Although the Constitution expressly stated that Congress had the power to lay and collect excises, as well as taxes, the people of western Pennsylvania determined to resist the tax. They maltreated the collectors who were sent, and stubbornly refused to pay, taking up arms to oppose what they considered an unjust law. Not only did the Constitution give Congress the power to make laws, but it also required the President to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and made him commander-in-chief of the army. Washington, in the exercise of these constitutional powers, sent an army of fifteen thousand men to enforce the law. There was no fighting, as the mob dispersed upon the approach of the soldiers. Had Washington been a weak or vacillating character, the whisky rebellion might have been a very serious matter. The nation could not have been well established so long as the people believed that they could disobey the laws with impunity. The Constitution, unlike the Articles of Confederation, provided for a President, and gave him powers which had to be respected.

100. Organization of New Territory. — Many states quarrelled in regard to the possession of unsettled territory. Different states laid claim to the same land, *e.g.* New York and New Hampshire both claimed what is now the state of Vermont. As early as 1779 the Continental Congress urged all

the states not to sell any of their western lands until the close of the war. New York was the first state to surrender its land (between the sources of the Great Lakes and the Cumberland Mountains) to the general government. Shortly after, Virginia gave up its claim to western land, and other states made similar cessions. By the middle of 1787 the United States was in possession of almost two hundred million acres of public land. This territory had to be organized and prepared for statehood. The Constitution expressly gives Congress the power to make all needful rules and regulations for the government of territory. The government of the Northwest territory was provided for by the **Ordinance of 1787**, which became the model for territorial government. Congress appointed a governor, secretary, and three judges to manage the territory. Slavery was prohibited. It was provided that new states should be formed in the Northwest territory as soon as the population was large enough. The prosperous states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin have been formed out of this region. (See map between pp. 128–129.)

II. Foreign Complications

101. Washington's Attitude. — In the establishment of the new government not only was it necessary to meet the domestic difficulties, such as the payment of debts, the raising of revenue, enforcement of laws, etc., but there were foreign complications as well. The United States was now an independent nation, and the question arose as to what should be its attitude toward other nations. Washington with his great foresight believed that the new republic was not ready to mingle with the affairs of other nations, especially as it was far from being strongly established itself. He saw the dangers likely to arise from foreign entanglements or alliances, and therefore carefully avoided them.

102. Early Difficulties with England. — In spite of the provisions of the treaty of peace, British troops were still in possession of forts in the neighborhood of Lake Erie. England

contended that the United States had not fulfilled all its obligations under the treaty, and she refused to withdraw her troops. In addition to the irritation thus caused, much feeling was aroused, especially in New England, by British interference with our commerce. Many leading statesmen were in favor of declaring war against England. In spite of the popular outcry, Washington made the best peaceable adjustment of the difficulty that he could. Chief Justice Jay went as special envoy to England and secured a treaty (1794) which, while not entirely satisfactory, was accepted by Washington as the best that could be had. The forts were given up, our honor was maintained, and a war was averted. Washington was violently attacked for agreeing to the treaty, but it was probably one of the wisest acts of his administration.

103. France seeks an Alliance: the Genet Affair. — Similar wisdom and sagacity were shown by Washington in his treatment of "Citizen" Genet, a minister sent to this country during the French Revolution who sought to secure our aid for France, which was then at war with Great Britain. Washington's firmness and determination in this case were all the more praiseworthy as there was great popular clamor and enthusiasm for the cause of France. The French had aided us during the Revolution, and it seemed but proper gratitude that we should accede to her request. Washington felt that a war with England at this time would be disastrous to the nation, so he steadfastly refused to consider Genet's request. Instead, he issued a proclamation stating that the United States was neutral and would not interfere in any quarrels between European nations. Genet then appealed directly to the people to assist France in spite of the commands of the President, and he succeeded in arousing much popular excitement. Washington, however, demanded his recall, and France promptly obeyed.

104. Trouble with France. — Later, in John Adams's administration, the country was nearly involved in a war with France. She was angered because the United States did not

take up her quarrel and help her against England. American merchant vessels were captured, and our envoys insulted. War was threatened unless we should give the French considerable money. This bid for a bribe was greeted with scorn. To the French demands Pinckney made the famous reply, "Millions for defence; not one cent for tribute." This sentiment is as marked a characteristic of American ways as was the prudent non-interference of Washington. While the United States has always been unwilling to interfere in foreign quarrels, it has not been reluctant or tardy in maintaining its rights. Pinckney's words of defiance aroused the country. War broke out, and several French vessels were captured. When Napoleon came into power, however, hostilities ceased. (See § 110.)

105. "Second War for Independence." — As war continued between France and England, the interference with American commerce became more and more unbearable. The frequent impressment of American seamen by England made the feeling still more bitter. At last, in Madison's administration, war was declared against England. (See Part II, Chap. VI.) This war was of such importance in connection with the establishment of the new nation that it is sometimes called the Second War for Independence. In the first place, it gained for us the respect of foreign nations. The United States was henceforth regarded as a power that could not be insulted with impunity. We had shown our readiness and ability to maintain our rights, and England especially, which had boasted the title of "mistress of the seas," more than once had to lower her colors before the courage and skill of the American navy. In gaining the respect of other nations, we were ourselves inspired with confidence.

By the end of the War of 1812 the republic had passed through its experimental stage. The "period of weakness" was over. The feeling of confidence and security showed itself in many ways. Literature, science, and arts began to flourish, and the impulse was given to a century of national progress which has not been exceeded, if it has been equalled, by any other country in any other age. The period following

the war (Monroe's administration) presented such a pleasant contrast to the previous troublous times that it was known as the "Era of Good Feeling." In addition to this important result of the war, home industry, especially manufacturing, was greatly encouraged. Owing to our imports being cut off for several years, factories were started, especially cotton and woollen mills, to supply us with goods which, under other circumstances, we would have purchased from abroad. The foundation was thus laid for a manufacturing industry which to-day makes the United States one of the most prosperous manufacturing countries of the world.

106. The Monroe Doctrine. — The Monroe Doctrine may also be viewed as indirectly a result of the self-confidence inspired by the War of 1812. It expressed in positive terms the attitude of the United States toward other nations of the world. Mexico and the South American republics had declared themselves independent of Spain and established republican governments. It was feared that some European nation would try to help Spain regain her possessions. President Monroe declared in a message to Congress that while we would not interfere with European quarrels, we should also resist any European interference in this continent. Europe has respected the Monroe Doctrine, and to-day almost the entire American continent is formed of self-governing republics.

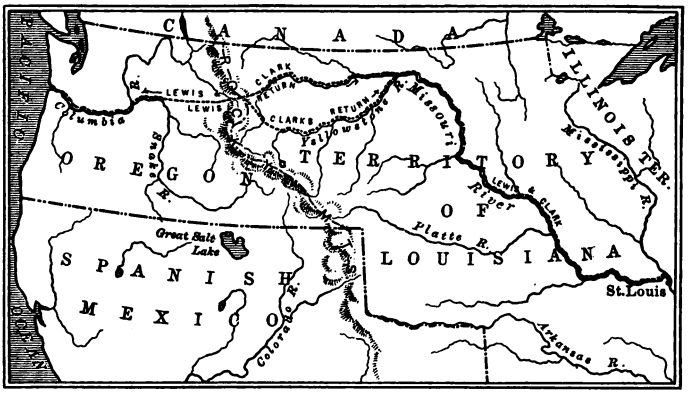
III. Growth and Development

107. Promotion of Industries. — In addition to the impetus given to manufacturing by the cutting off of our imports during the War of 1812, home production was further encouraged by a system of protective tariff. The purpose of the tariff was to lay such a duty on imports that it would be cheaper to buy home products. Opinions were divided as to the wisdom of this policy. The protective tariff, or "American system," as it was called, certainly had the effect of greatly increasing our manufacturing, especially in the North.

The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power to

"promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited time, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." In pursuance of this power Congress passed laws concerning copyrights and patents. As a result, inventors have been encouraged and the century just passed has been a most remarkable one for the number and importance of its inventions. (See Part IV, Chap. XI.)

108. Development of the Nation. — The rapid development of the resources of the country was assured as soon as order

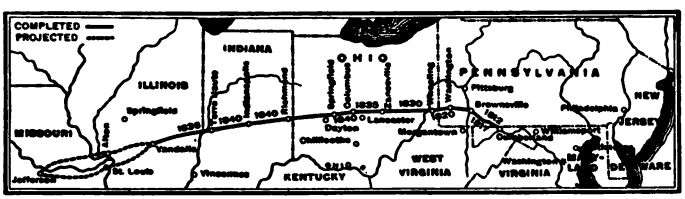


LEWIS AND CLARK'S ROUTE

was established and a stable currency provided. (See Part III, Chap. VIII.) The expedition under Lewis and Clark, sent out during Jefferson's administration to explore the Louisiana territory, which had recently been purchased, was exceedingly important. It furnished knowledge of the vast resources of the far West, which later aroused a desire for emigration. The government encouraged emigration and settlement of the new territory west of the Alleghanies by making free grants of land, in some cases exempting the settlers from taxation. The cause of free education was furthered by land grants. Under this stimulus the territories increased in population and prospered.

Western emigration was further encouraged by the construction of a great national road. This work was pushed forward during Monroe's administration. The road eventually extended almost to the Mississippi. The breaking of the power of the Indians, who were a constant menace in the Northwest territory, also encouraged emigration to that region. Cincinnati was founded in 1788. Shortly after, the first western newspaper was published.

One by one new states were admitted to the Union. The beginning was made in Washington's administration, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee being added to the thirteen original states. Ohio was the first of the states formed out of the Northwest territory to be admitted to the Union.



ROUTE OF THE NATIONAL ROAD.

109. Development of Democratic Ideas. — While the nation was thus becoming firmly established, the fundamental ideas of the Declaration of Independence were deeply influencing the people. The notion of the equality of all men had also found expression in a clause of the Constitution forbidding Congress to grant any title of nobility. Everything of a monarchical character or tendency was looked upon with mingled suspicion and contempt. This idea of equality had roused the people of France to revolution. During the "Reign of Terror" the king and queen had been beheaded, and the streets of Paris ran red with the blood of the nobility. This was during Washington's administration, at the time that Genet was endeavoring to obtain our assistance for France. Many of the Americans sympathized with the French, and were deeply stirred by their democratic enthusiasm. In imita-

tion of the French they called each other "citizen," and in every way possible showed their disapproval of everything that savored of royalty. This feeling was manifested especially by the anti-Federalists, who always feared that the rights of the people were in danger of being encroached upon. It was due to their efforts that the first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the "Bill of Rights," were passed, all of which were intended carefully to insure the rights and guard the personal liberty of the people.

When Thomas Jefferson, the most prominent of the anti-Federalists and author of the Declaration of Independence, became President, the principles of equality and democracy were strongly emphasized. In his dress and manner he set an example of "republican simplicity." He mingled with the people as one of them. Washington and Adams, both somewhat influenced by monarchical customs, stood more apart from the people. They addressed the Congress in person. Jefferson, on the contrary, merely sent a written message. His example has been followed by all subsequent presidents. The Declaration of Independence, the enthusiastic sympathy aroused by the French Revolution, and Jefferson's personal example all gave expression to the liberty-loving instincts of the American people. America stands to-day as the country of equality and liberty. It is most fitting that the first object to greet the eye of the foreigner approaching New York harbor should be the statue of Liberty, a gift of the French republic.

STATUE OF LIBERTY
In New York Harbor

PART II

TROUBLES AT HOME AND ABROAD

CHAPTER VI

Troubles with Foreign Countries

Foreign Wars 65
War of 1812 66
Oregon Boundary Dispute 69
War with Mexico 70
Spanish-American War 73

CHAPTER VII

Indian Wars. Slavery and the Civil War

Troubles with the Indians 77
History of Slavery 80
National Progress and the Slavery Question 80
Early History of Slavery 81
Increased Importance of the Slavery Question 82
Anti-slavery Agitation 84
The Question settled 86
The Civil War 89
Causes of the War 89
Events of the War 90
Effects and Consequences of the War 93

CHAPTER VI

TROUBLES WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Foreign Wars. — 110. Troubles with France and Tripoli.

War of 1812. — 111. Causes of the War. 112. Declaration of War 113. The War on Land. 114. Naval Success. 115. Effects of the War.

Oregon Boundary Dispute. — 116. Conflicting Claims. 117. "54° 40′ or fight." 118. Settlement by Treaty.

War with Mexico. — 119. Events leading to the War. 120. Immediate Cause of War. 121. Campaign Plans. 122. Success of United States. 123. Result of the War. 124. Justice of the War.

Spanish-American War. — 125. Causes of the War. 126. Destruction of the *Maine*. 127. Success of the United States Army and Navy. 128. Treaty of Peace. 129. Government of the Islands. 130. Problems for the Future.

CHAPTER VI

TROUBLES WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

I. Foreign Wars

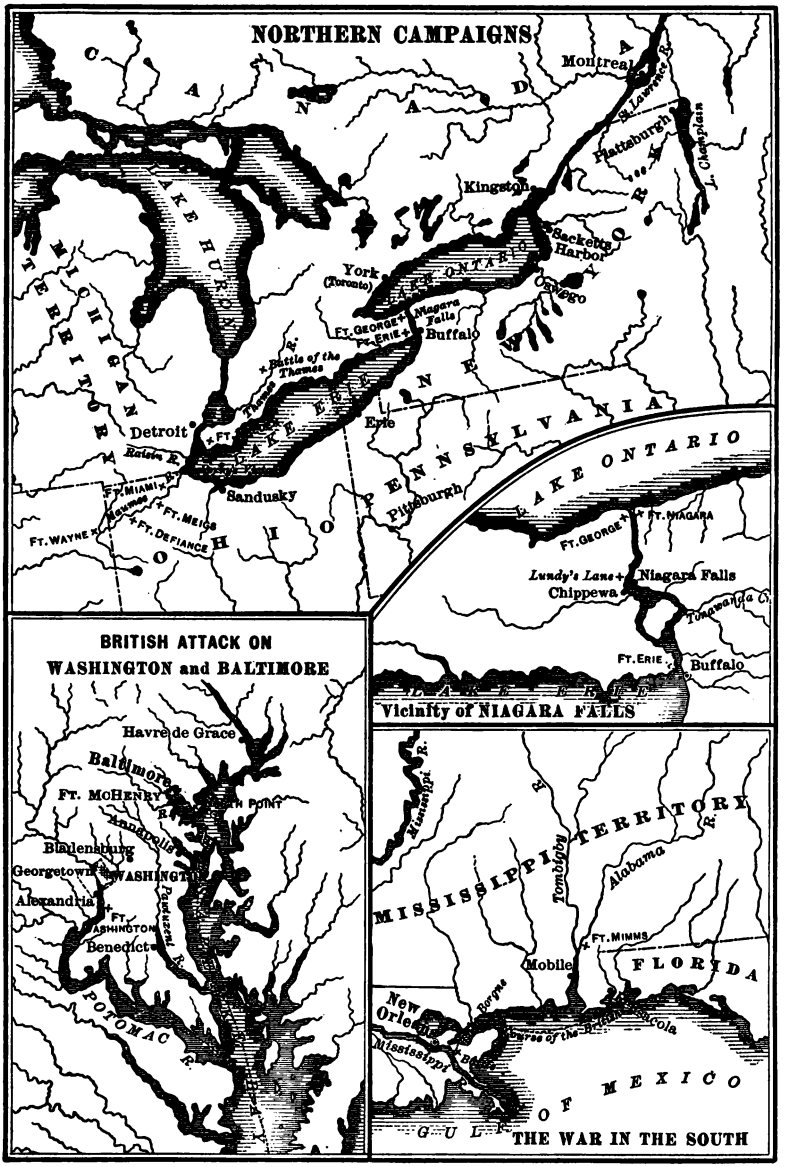
110. Troubles with France and Tripoli.—For nearly the first century of its national life the United States had comparatively little trouble with foreign nations. In its intercourse with other nations difficulties and disagreements have frequently arisen, but it has generally been possible to settle these amicably by treaty. The Oregon boundary question is an instance of this. There have been several occasions upon which difficulties with foreign nations led to open hostilities, though not to serious wars. The first was the **difficulty with France** in John Adams's administration. It was due to French interference with American commerce and the dishonorable attempt to extort money from the envoys as the price of peace. This aroused such indignation that preparations were made for war (1798), and some French vessels were captured. When Napoleon came into power (1799), he speedily made peace, receiving the American envoys with the respect due to the representatives of an independent nation. The **war with Tripoli** (1801) was merely a naval expedition against the pirates of the Barbary states of North Africa, who had been exacting tribute from the nations of Europe as well as of America. The United States deserves the credit of having first brought the ruler of Tripoli to terms and of securing the freedom of the Mediterranean for merchant vessels. These two conflicts proved to the world that although the United States was a young and struggling nation, it was determined nevertheless to maintain its rights. On three other occasions, however, the international

differences were of a more serious nature and were settled by wars of a more extensive character. The early years of the nineteenth century were marked by the **War of 1812** with England; the middle of the century saw the **Mexican War** (1846–48); and near its close occurred the **Spanish War** (1898), fortunately of but a few months' duration.

II. War of 1812

111. Causes of the War. — The war between England and France had proved very disastrous to American commerce. Each of the warring nations issued orders forbidding ships of neutral nations to enter the other's ports. Ships that attempted to disobey these orders were liable to be captured by the foreign warships. **The Embargo Act** (1807) and **Non-intercourse Act** (1809) were passed by Congress in the attempt to remedy the matter. The one forbade any American vessel to leave port, the other prohibited commercial intercourse with England and France. It was expected that these laws would compel England and France to revoke their orders; but they proved to be unwise pieces of legislation, and worked serious injury to America. The commercial distress that they occasioned inflamed the people against the primary cause of all the trouble. The other and principal cause of the war was the right which England claimed to search American ships, and take from them sailors suspected to be British subjects. This was known as the "right of search." The claim itself was unjust enough, and the high-handed manner in which the commanders of British warships exercised the "right" raised America's anger to the highest pitch. The people demanded the right to send their ships where they pleased, and protection for their sailors against such seizures. These demands found voice in the battle cry of the war party: "Free Trade and Sailor's Rights."

112. Declaration of War (1812). — Other less important events had helped to fan the ill will of the people against England. England had been suspected of encouraging Indian



REFERENCE MAPS FOR THE WAR OF 1812

outbreaks, and of endeavoring to persuade New England to secede from the Union and to join Canada. Madison, however, was a peace-loving man and delayed final action as long as possible; but public indignation against Great Britain's acts forced Congress to declare war in the summer of 1812. In view of the great damage to commerce and the impressment of several thousand men by the British navy, it is surprising that war was not declared sooner. There was good cause for war against France also, but she was the traditional friend of the United States, and her offences had not been so grave as Great Britain's. Moreover, the country was not well prepared for war against one, to say nothing of fighting two powerful enemies.

113. The War on Land.—The campaign on land soon demonstrated the utter lack of preparation of the Americans for the conflict. The British Canadian possessions were the object of attack, but the American generals, principally Revolutionary officers too old for such active service, managed the invasion poorly, and the result was failure. General Hull, who was in command of the American forces at Detroit, surrendered that city and all Michigan to the British without firing a gun in its defence. It now began to appear that instead of conquering Canada, the Americans might lose the entire Northwest territory. Later some successes were achieved by younger and more competent generals. These operations were all on the Canadian border around the Great Lakes.

English warships plundered and burned some Atlantic ports and succeeded in keeping the seaboard in a state of terror. The burning of Washington by the invaders was a disgraceful incident of the war. The repulse of the British at New Orleans was a brilliant victory for the Americans, who were under the command of General Jackson. The Americans lost about seventy against two thousand killed, wounded, and missing of the enemy.

114. Naval Success.— In striking contrast to the reverses of the army were the brilliant successes of the navy. The disparity of naval forces was very great, England having by

far the greater number of vessels. Yet such was the superiority of discipline and marksmanship of the American sailor that an almost unbroken succession of naval victories was gained. The frigate *Constitution* (Old Ironsides) made an especially brilliant record. Perry's celebrated victory on Lake Erie, with ships built from the green wood of the Michigan forests, saved the Northwest territory. Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain prevented invasion of New York. Privateers of both nations scoured the seas, but each nation suffered heavily in this kind of warfare.

115. Effects of the War. — The treaty of peace which ended the war apparently left things as they were before, strangely enough saying nothing at all about the British claim of "right of search," the primary cause of the trouble. Nevertheless our great naval victories had banished all fear of any future attempt on the part of Great Britain to press such a claim. The remarkable battle of New Orleans had proved the ability of the army to repel invasion. The war, therefore, had not been fought in vain. It convinced the world that no European nation could hope to gain a foothold on the territory of the United States. One important effect of the war was to give a great impulse to manufacturing in the United States. The destruction of commerce had compelled the home manufacture of goods for which we had formerly depended upon other countries.

The war has fitly been called "The Second War for Independence." Its conclusion marked the end of the first quarter century of national life — "The Period of Weakness." This was now followed by the growth of a strong feeling of nationality. It was the dawn of a new era in America, remarkable for internal improvements and increased prosperity.

III. Oregon Boundary Dispute

116. Conflicting Claims. — The territory between upper California and the southern boundary of Alaska (54° 40′) was claimed by both the United States and England. The United

States based its claim upon the discovery of the Columbia River by Robert Gray (1792), the exploration by Lewis and Clark (1805) (see § 108), and the establishment of a trading-post, Astoria, by John Jacob Astor (1811). England's claims were based upon still earlier discovery and settlement. A treaty granting joint occupancy was made (1818), and the question did not assume importance for many years.

117. **"54° 40′ or Fight."** — Astor sold out to an English fur-trading company and it looked at one time as if the English would gain control. Dr. Marcus Whitman, an American missionary, made great efforts (1842–43), however, to secure the Oregon country for the United States by inducing immigration. He successfully organized a large emigrant train and piloted it to the Columbia River. The Americans were soon in the majority and organized a local government. The demand for the whole territory became very strong, one of the campaign cries of 1844 being "54° 40′ or fight."

118. **Settlement by Treaty.** — Fortunately temperate and wise councils prevailed, and the matter was settled by a compromise treaty, according to the terms of which the Oregon territory was divided, England securing that portion north of the 49th parallel, the United States the portion south. Thus there was added to the United States a vast territory whose ownership had been in dispute. It was a great triumph for the principle of peaceful diplomatic settlement of international disagreements, as against the unwise and costly appeal to the barbarities of war. (See map between pages 128–129.)

IV. War with Mexico

119. **Events leading to the War.** — Texas was originally a part of Mexican territory. Emigrants from the United States in large numbers settled a portion of the territory, and becoming dissatisfied with Mexican rule, set up a government of their own. The attempt of Mexico to quell this revolt was defeated; and Texas became an independent republic (1836), and was treated as such by the United States and other nations. Mex-

ico, however, did not formally relinquish her claim over the country. In 1837 Texas, the "Lone Star State," applied for admission to the Union, but was not formally annexed until 1845. Its annexation had been strongly urged by the South, as it would mean an extension of slave territory and increased in-

MAP OF THE MEXICAN WAR

fluence in favor of slavery in both houses of Congress. On this account some historians regard slavery as the real cause of the Mexican War.

120. Immediate Cause of the War. — The immediate cause of the war was a boundary dispute between Texas and Mexico.

The former claimed to the Rio Grande, the latter to the Nueces River. The United States supported the claim of Texas, and sent troops to the disputed territory. Some encounters took place with Mexican soldiers, and Congress shortly afterward declared war.

121. Campaign Plans. — Armies to invade Mexico and capture its capital were sent by way of the Rio Grande and Vera Cruz. Another army was sent against the Mexican territory of New Mexico, and a fleet on the Pacific attacked California.

122. Success of the United States. — The United States troops had to force their way for great distances through a very difficult and hostile country, and were invariably greatly outnumbered by the opposing armies. The Mexicans, however, were poorly armed and disciplined, and though they did not lack in courage, were defeated in every engagement. The war ended with General Scott in possession of the City of Mexico, and United States troops occupying New Mexico and California.

123. Result of the War. — The treaty of peace, which was concluded in 1848, was very favorable to the United States. The Texas boundary claim was acknowledged, and upper California and New Mexico, as then constituted, were ceded to the United States for $15,000,000. Thus was acquired a territory larger than the United States at the close of the Revolution. The assumption by the United States of certain Mexican debts raised the cost of this new territory to over $25,000,000. This was thought by many at the time to be an expensive bargain, but subsequent events have proved its enormous value.

124. Justice of the War. — Opinion differed greatly as to the justice of this war. On the one hand it was held that the Mexican government was so unstable that arrangements satisfactorily guaranteeing the rights of Americans could not have been made without recourse to war. On the other hand, it was argued, that all the events immediate and remote leading up to the war made the latter an unjustifiable war of conquest, waged by a strong nation against a feeble neighbor.

117
107
97
BRITISH AMERICA
OREGON
TERRITORY
MINNESOTA
TERRITORY
MISSOURI
TERRITORY
IOWA
UNITED STATES
TERRITORY CEDED BY MEXICO TO THE UNITED STATES 1848
GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
TEXAS
ANNEXED 1845
LOUISIANA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
COLUMBIA R.
SNAKE R.
YELLOWSTONE R.
MISSOURI R.
PLATTE R.
ARKANSAS R.
RED R.
COLORADO R.
GILA R.
GREAT SALT LAKE
SALT LAKE CITY
SAN FRANCISCO
MONTEREY
SANTA FE
LAS VEGAS
CANADIAN
LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO
SAN ANTONIO
SAN JACINTO
CHIHUAHUA
GUAYMAS
CORPUS CHRISTI
GULF
OF
MEXICO
FT. BROWN
MATAMORAS
SALTILLO
MONTEREY
BUENA VISTA
PACIFIC
OCEAN
TROPIC OF CANCER
MAZATLAN
VICTORIA
TAMPICO
SAN LUIS POTOSI
MEXICO
VERA CRUZ
CERRO GORDO
MANZANILLO
CONTRERAS
ACAPULCO
LOWER CALIFORNIA
Gulf of California
40
30
20
MAP SHOWING THE
TERRITORY ACQUIRED
FROM MEXICO
AS THE RESULT OF
THE MEXICAN WAR
117 Longitude West 107 from Greenwich 97

V. The Spanish-American War

125. Causes of the War. — In the early years of the nineteenth century, Spanish misrule in Florida was a source of trouble to the United States. This difficulty, fortunately, was amicably settled (1819) by the Florida purchase. The United States did not, however, thus entirely get rid of its troublesome neighbors. Spain still held Cuba, an island so near the shores of the United States that the latter could not avoid being interested in its welfare and progress. Spain, unfortunately, seemed incapable of governing the Cubans. The island was in a state of chronic rebellion. The severe measures taken by Spain to put down the rebellion enlisted the sympathy of Americans for the Cubans in their struggle for independence. Unsuccessful attempts were made to have Congress formally recognize the Cuban republic. Filibustering expeditions were fitted out which succeeded in carrying aid to the Cubans in spite of the efforts of the United States government to prevent it. Although the United States government thus attempted to maintain a friendly or neutral attitude to Spain, there was much resentment felt by the Spanish against the attempted American interference. The excessively cruel "Reconcentrado" policy of the Spanish governor-general Weyler, aroused the American people to a high pitch of indignation, and it soon became evident that interference of some kind must take place.

126. The Destruction of the "Maine" (February 15, 1898). — The mysterious blowing up of the *Maine* in Havana harbor while on a friendly visit to Cuba undoubtedly hastened American intervention. Congress declared war April 21, 1898, avowing its purpose to restore peace to Cuba and give its people an opportunity to establish for themselves a stable form of government.

127. Success of United States Army and Navy. — Fortunately the war was a very brief one, the United States army and navy being uniformly successful. **Admiral Dewey** completely destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay without the

loss of a single sailor. Another American fleet under Admirals **Sampson** and **Schley** won a similar victory (July 3) over the Spanish fleet under Cervera as the latter attempted to escape from Santiago harbor, where it had been blockaded by the American vessels. The land battles took place near Santiago de Cuba, which was captured by the Americans.

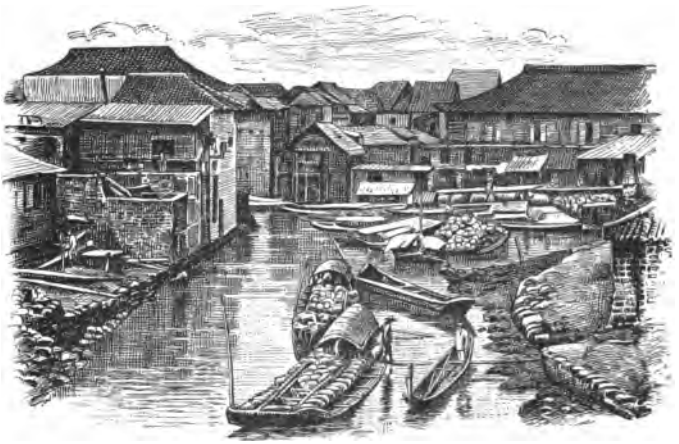
128. Treaty of Peace. — Hostilities were suspended (August 12) while negotiations for peace were in progress in Paris. By the terms of the treaty, Spain gave up her claim to Cuba, and ceded Porto Rico and her other West India islands to the United States, thus withdrawing from the Western Hemisphere. Spain also gave up the Philippines, receiving in exchange $20,000,000.

129. Government of the Islands. — The United States has established a civil government in Cuba, pending the establishment of a government by the Cubans themselves. Porto Rico has been made a territory. The rebellion of the Filipinos against the Spanish government, which existed during the Spanish-American War, later became a rebellion against the United States authority. The government is still endeavoring (1901) to quell that rebellion and establish order in the islands. The recent capture of Aguinaldo, the leader of the insurrection, by General Funston has done much to bring about a cessation of hostilities.

130. Problems for the Future. — Just what the ultimate disposition of our new possessions will be is impossible to prophesy. Will Cuba be able to govern itself? Is annexation to the United States a probable event? Is such annexation desirable? Is it or is it not right? are questions that receive different answers from both Cubans and Americans.

Shall Porto Rico be ruled as other territories are, with admission to statehood at some future date as a possibility? Or must it be treated in some different way? Should the Filipinos be given their independence? If not, shall our treatment of the Asiatic archipelago be similar to our treatment of Porto Rico? Must the United States develop a colonial

policy? etc. This array of questions indicates the serious nature of the problems now confronting the United States. Much depends upon the decisions that are made. Faith in her past achievements leads us to confidently hope that she will so solve them that the Spanish War will prove to have been what it was originally declared to be — a war for humanity.



A NATIVE MARKET IN MANILA

From a photograph

CHAPTER VII

INDIAN WARS. SLAVERY AND THE CIVIL WAR

Troubles with the Indians. — 131. Characteristics of the Indians. 132. Relations between the Whites and Indians. 133. Conflicts before the Revolution. 134. Since the Revolution. 135. Treatment of the Indians since the Civil War.

History of Slavery. — *Introductory* — 136. National Progress and the Slavery Question.

Early History of Slavery. — 137. Beginnings of Slavery in the North and South. 138. Slavery abolished in the North. 139. Laws against Importation of Slaves. 140. Congress asked to abolish Slavery.

Increased Importance of the Slavery Question. — 141. Effect of Invention of the Cotton Gin. 142. Slavery becomes a Political Question. 143. The Missouri Compromise.

Anti-slavery Agitation. — 144. Abolition. 145. Annexation of Texas. 146. Wilmot Proviso. 147. Omnibus Bill. 148. Anti-slavery Feeling Intensified. 149. Kansas-Nebraska Bill. 150. Debates of Lincoln and Douglas. 151. Dred Scott Decision. 152. John Brown's Raid.

The Question Settled. — 153. Election of Lincoln. 154. South Carolina Secedes. 155. Emancipation Proclamation. 156. Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.

The Civil War. — *Causes of the War.* — 157. Growth of Slavery in the South. 158. Effects of Slavery on the South. 159. Effects of Freedom on the North. 160. The Doctrine of State Rights. 161. Effect of the Election of Lincoln. 162. The Question at Issue.

Events of the War. — 163. Beginning of the War. 164. The South on the Defensive. 165. The Union Plan, and how it was carried out.

Effects and Consequences of the War. — 166. Results of the War. 167. The Problem of Reconstruction. 168. How the Problem was Solved. 169. The Alabama Claims.

CHAPTER VII

INDIAN WARS. SLAVERY AND THE CIVIL WAR

I. Troubles with the Indians

131. Characteristics of the Indians. — The original inhabitants of America, the Indians, as they were misnamed by Columbus, were not very numerous. It is estimated that there were only about 250,000 east of the Mississippi. They were divided into many tribes, and were scattered over a great extent of territory. They did a little rude farming, but maintained themselves principally by hunting and fishing. They moved so frequently from place to place that they could hardly be said to "possess" the land of which they made so little use. Disease and bitter wars between the tribes kept their numbers from growing. The tribal feuds also prevented the Indians from uniting successfully against the white invaders of their hunting grounds. They were patient, brave, and tireless hunters, with remarkable knowledge of woodcraft. Believing in the duty of "blood revenge," they became the savage and relentless foes of any who treated them badly. In warfare they were exceedingly treacherous and cruel. They were capable, however, of appreciating good treatment, and would repay kindness with kindness.

132. Relations between the Whites and the Indians. — The **French** treated the Indians well. The missionaries made great sacrifices to convert them to Christianity, while the fur-traders did everything to gain their good will, treating them as equals and even intermarrying with them. The Iroquois, against whom the French had once fought, were the only Indians of the region claimed by France who were not her

strong allies. Most of the trouble that the English had with the Indians can be traced to unwise or unjust treatment of them. The settlers of the Middle colonies treated the Indians fairly, and thus established friendly relations with them, which were maintained for many years. The Virginians, profiting by the wise control of John Smith, had comparatively little trouble with the red men. New England, however, was the scene of cruel wars, largely because the settlers of that region regarded the Indians as a "nest of serpents" to be "rooted out of the world." The Indians complained that "the English made them drunk and then cheated them in bargains." It should be borne in mind, however, that the Indians of New England were fiercer and more warlike than those of the Middle and Southern colonies.

133. Conflicts before the Revolution. — There were frequent conflicts between the early white settlers and the Indians. One of the most important of these was known as the **Pequot War** (1637). It was waged by the inhabitants of the towns in the Connecticut Valley against the Pequot Indians, who had been plotting against the whites. The war was carried into the Indians' country, and resulted in the practical extermination of the tribe. The next important Indian war occurred in Massachusetts in 1675, and was known as **King Philip's War**, because it was led by a celebrated Indian chief of that name. It lasted two years, and ended with the death of King Philip and the complete destruction of the power of the Indian league. During the **intercolonial wars**, the Indians, with the exception of the powerful Iroquois tribe of New York, assisted the French. The last attempt of the Indians to resist the colonists occurred shortly after the close of the French and Indian War. It was known as **Pontiac's conspiracy**. The Indians under Pontiac were decisively defeated.

134. Since the Revolution. — During the Revolution, the British instigated the Indians to attack the Americans. Horrible massacres took place in western Pennsylvania and New York. In Washington's administration there were Indian

troubles on the western frontier. The Indians were at first successful, but were afterward badly beaten by General Anthony Wayne. The next serious difficulty occurred with the **Creeks** of the Southwest territory, during the War of 1812. General Andrew Jackson defeated them, securing this territory for the United States. He later (1818) conquered the **Seminoles** of Florida. Jackson's success indirectly led to our obtaining this territory from Spain. (See § 224.) The **Black Hawk War** (1832) resulted from the opposition of the Indians to the westward movement of the Americans. They were finally driven beyond the Mississippi River. The Seminoles, who had meanwhile broken out again, were also forced west of the Mississippi. In 1872 the **Modocs**, and in 1876 the **Sioux**, of the extreme West were compelled to occupy reservations in the Indian Territory, but not without serious wars. In the Sioux War General Custer and his entire command were destroyed.

135. Treatment of the Indians since the Civil War. — The United States government has for a long time pursued the policy of restricting the various Indian tribes to certain districts called **reservations**, where it has also aided them by distributing allowances of ammunition, food, etc. Unfortunately, cattle-kings and gold-hunters have frequently invaded the Indian reservations, utterly disregarding the rights supposed to be secured to the red men by treaties between them and the United States government. The government agents have also been corrupt in their dealings with the Indians. These acts of injustice have been the cause of most of the Indian uprisings. General Grant attempted to improve matters by his "Quaker policy" (1869), by which he gave the manage-

A Kiowa Chief
From a photograph

ment of the reservations into the hands of members of the Society of Friends. The government has further attempted to civilize the Indians by giving them independent ownership of farmland, thus inducing them to become self-supporting. Efforts have also been successfully made to civilize the Indians by establishing schools for the **education** of their youth. The prevalent notion that the Indians are dying out seems to be erroneous. It is estimated that they are about as numerous to-day as they were when the continent was first discovered.

History of Slavery

I. Introductory

136. National Progress and the Slavery Question. — The problem of government which confronted the United States at the close of the Revolution was satisfactorily settled by the adoption of the Constitution and the wise administration of Washington and his successors. "The Second War for Independence" (1812) won the "Free Trade and Sailor's Rights" for which it had been fought, and firmly established the United States as a nation. Acquisition of territory both by purchase and conquest extended the country's domain to the Pacific. Great tides of immigration flowed into the new land and developed its resources. Manufacturing, mining, and commerce increased at such an unexampled rate that the internal development of the country more than kept pace with its great increase in area and its growth of population. This peaceful prosperity, however, was seriously disturbed by the great social and industrial question of slavery. Should the land west of the Mississippi be free or slave soil? The Missouri Compromise was passed (1820), and many believed that it had settled the question forever. It proved to be only a temporary answer to the question. The struggle between those for and those against slavery continued, which finally became so bitter that it involved the country in the most terrible civil

war of history (1861–65). It took many years for the nation to recover from the effects of this disastrous war. Its great cost in life and treasure can only be justified by what it accomplished for human freedom.

II. Early History of Slavery

137. Beginnings of Slavery in the North and South. — The history of slavery in the United States is a long story, extending back to colonial times. Beginning with the importation of a few negroes into Virginia (1619), the practice of slave-holding gradually extended until by 1776 slavery existed in every one of the colonies. By 1790 there were over 600,000 slaves in the South, and about 40,000 in the North. This difference was due to the fact that slave labor never proved profitable in the North. The slaves were employed there generally as house servants. In the South, however, the institution flourished because the slaves seemed well adapted for labor in the rice fields and on the tobacco and indigo plantations. Later they were of great service in the cotton fields.

138. Slavery abolished in the North. — Opposition to slave-holding was soon manifested. Even in the South there were many who objected to the custom. Some Quakers of Pennsylvania held a meeting as early as 1688 to protest against slavery, but it was not until 1780 that Pennsylvania provided by law for its gradual abolition. The Northern states one after the other abolished slavery, so that by 1810 there were no slaves north of Mason and Dixon's line.

139. Laws against the Importation of Slaves. — Many of the colonies showed their opposition to slavery by passing laws against the importation of slaves, but the slaves were forced upon them by Great Britain. The Continental Congress also tried (1775) to prohibit their importation, and further showed its opposition to slavery by a provision in the Ordinance of 1787, making the Northwest territory free soil. One of the compromises agreed to in forming the Constitution was the

guarantee of non-interference with the slave trade until after 1807 (see § 93).

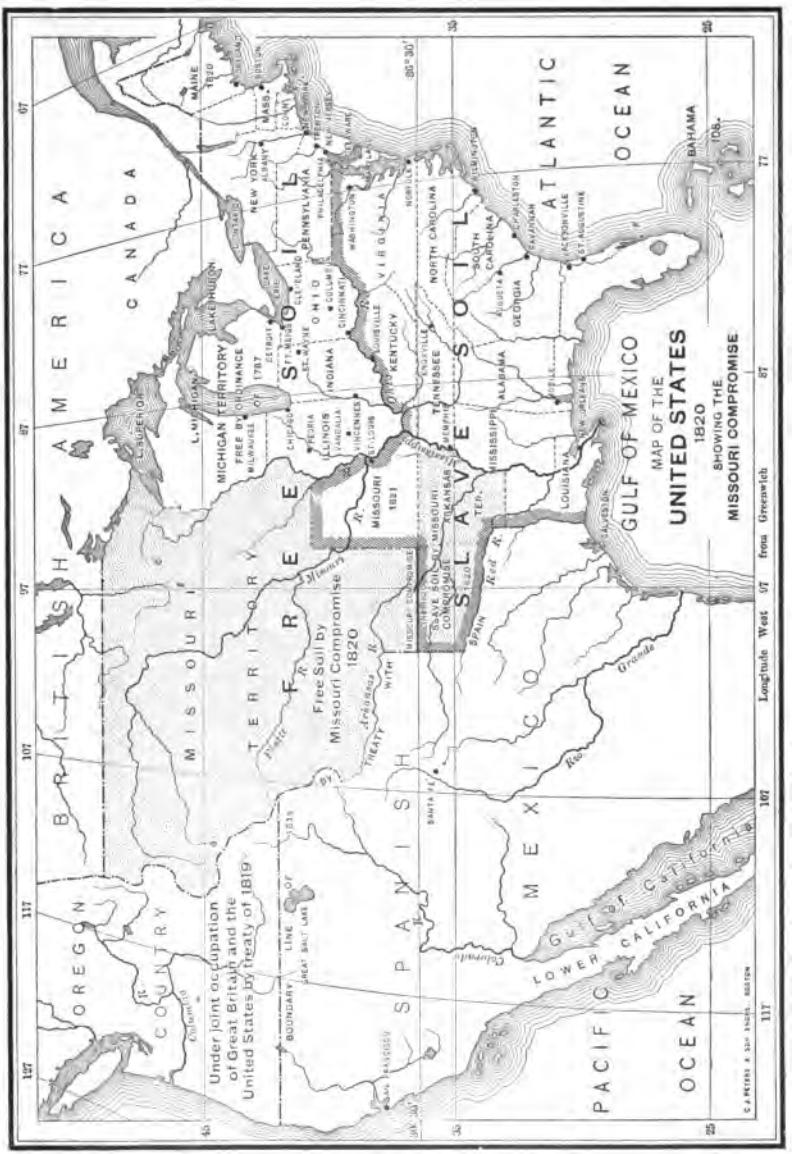
140. Congress asked to abolish Slavery. — Congress was petitioned (1790) to provide by law for the gradual extinction of slavery. This measure was endorsed by Franklin, and the policy was favored by Washington and Jefferson, though both the latter were slave-holders. Congress, however, decided that this was a matter to be left to the discretion of the several states.

III. Increased Importance of the Slavery Question

141. Effect of Invention of the Cotton-gin. — This simple invention of Eli Whitney's (see § 246) had a wonderful effect upon the growth of slavery. Cotton-raising became a great Southern industry, and the negroes could be used to great advantage in the cotton fields. What opposition had existed in the South died out, and the slavery system flourished as it never before had done. Even in the North it found an advocate in the manufacturer, whose success with his cotton mills depended upon the Southern cotton crop.

142. Slavery becomes a Political Question. — So far the opposition to slavery had been based upon moral grounds, but about this time (early in the nineteenth century) another difference arose between the North and South that added complications to the slavery question. The South wished to buy its manufactured goods from European countries, where it could get them cheapest. The North wanted a tariff on foreign goods so that the Northern manufacturers could compete more successfully with the European. This would make the price of manufactured goods higher, and encourage the Northern industries. Both parties therefore wished to get more power in Congress: the North to limit slavery and make tariff laws, the South to extend slavery and legislate for free trade.

143. The Missouri Compromise. — Mason and Dixon's Line and the Ohio River formed the boundary between free and


MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
1820
SHOWING THE
MISSOURI COMPROMISE
BRITISH AMERICA
CANADA
OREGON
COUNTRY
Under joint occupation
of Great Britain and the
United States by treaty of 1818
MISSOURI
TERRITORY
FREE
Free Soil by
Missouri Compromise
1820
SLAVE
SOIL
SPANISH
MEXICO
PACIFIC
OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
BAHAMA
MAINE
1820
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
FREE BY ORDINANCE OF 1787
MISSOURI
1821
ARKANSAS
TERRITORY
SLAVE SOIL BY MISSOURI COMPROMISE
SPAIN
Lower California
Gulf of California
Longitude West 97 from Greenwich

slave soil, east of the Mississippi. The question of the admission of Missouri, a part of the Louisiana purchase of 1803, as a free or a slave state, was stubbornly and angrily debated. It was finally settled by a compromise (1820), which admitted Missouri as a slave state, but at the same time admitted Maine as a free state. This kept the power between the North and South evenly balanced in the Senate. Slavery north of the southern boundary of Missouri was prohibited forever as a part of the agreement, and it was thought by many that the dispute over slavery was now satisfactorily settled.

IV. Anti-slavery Agitation

144. Abolition. — The moral sentiment against slavery, however, grew rapidly in the North. **William Lloyd Garrison's** paper, *The Liberator* (1831), demanded the "immediate and unconditional emancipation of every slave in the United States." The Southerners thought him insane, and many of the Northerners did not sympathize with such extreme demands. Garrison organized an **abolition society** (1832); others followed. There was violent opposition to these for several years, even in the North, yet their influence grew. A large number of societies were formed, and Congress was petitioned almost daily.

145. Annexation of Texas. — The next great event in the slavery controversy was the annexation of Texas. The South wanted Texas admitted as a slave state, and were successful. Slavery, on this account, has been said to be the real, if indirect, cause of the Mexican War.

146. The Wilmot Proviso. — David Wilmot of Pennsylvania offered in Congress (1848) a motion forbidding slavery in any territory which should be acquired from Mexico. This motion was lost, but produced great excitement.

147. The Omnibus Bill (Fillmore's Administration). — The Omnibus Bill was another compromise originated by Henry Clay, in 1850, which attempted to settle the difficulties growing

out of the admission of California and New Mexico as states. It proposed: —

1. California should come in as a free state.
2. The territories of Utah and New Mexico should be formed without any provision in regard to slavery.
3. Texas should be paid $10,000,000 to give up its claim on New Mexico.
4. The slave trade should be prohibited in the District of Columbia.
5. A fugitive slave law should be passed providing more effectively for the return of runaway slaves to their owners.

This compromise measure did not achieve the peaceful solution of the question which its friends had anticipated. The **Fugitive Slave Law** was systematically violated by anti-slavery agitators of the North, who secretly assisted escaping slaves. This kind of help became known as the "Underground Railroad."

148. Anti-slavery Feeling Intensified. — The violent anti-slavery feeling of the time found expression in literature, both poetry and prose. John Greenleaf Whittier wrote many stirring poems which appealed strongly to the sympathies of the North. In 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe published "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a vivid story of the miseries of slave life. It had a wonderful influence. More than half a million copies were sold within five years. The country was stirred as it had never been before. Congress became a scene of a great war of words between famous leaders from the North and South.

149. Kansas and Nebraska Bill (1854, Pierce's Administration). — The Compromise of 1850 only produced a lull in the excitement. Stephen A. Douglas introduced a bill in Congress to organize Kansas and Nebraska as territories, allowing the inhabitants of each to decide for themselves whether it should be admitted as a free or a slave state. This was called "**squatter sovereignty.**" Although it violated the Missouri Compromise, it became a law. Kansas and Nebraska then

became the scene of a small civil war between the free state settlers and those in favor of slavery; this struggle lasted about five years (1854–59). "Bleeding Kansas" was the sadly appropriate term applied to the state.

150. Debates of Lincoln and Douglas (1858). — Lincoln and Douglas, who were rival candidates for the Senate, engaged in joint debate. Lincoln insisted that the country could not be half slave and half free, but had to be wholly one or the other. Douglas held to the opposite view. This was one of the most famous political discussions ever held in the United States.

151. Dred Scott Decision (1857, Buchanan's Administration). — The supreme court of the United States, through Chief Justice Taney, declared that slave owners could carry their slaves with them into any state or territory, because slaves had no rights, and were like any other property that a man possessed. This was called the Dred Scott Decision, because it was given in the case of a negro of that name. The decision practically legalized slavery all over the country. It had the effect of uniting the North more firmly than ever in its efforts to abolish the system.

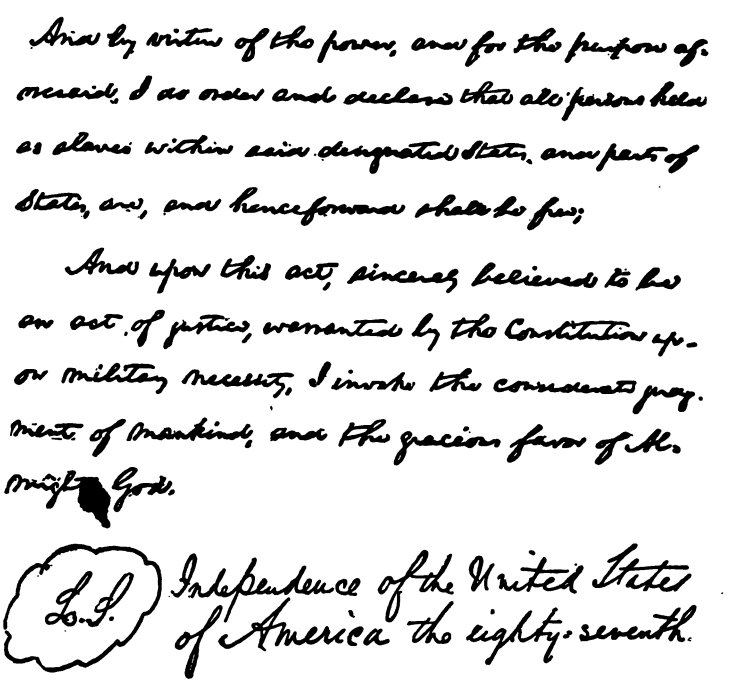
152. John Brown's Raid (1859, Buchanan's Administration). — John Brown, who had been a prominent "Free State" man in the Kansas struggle, with the help of a company of men seized Harper's Ferry in Virginia, and undertook to liberate the slaves. He was soon overcome, tried, and hanged. Though responsibility for the act was disavowed by the North, the raid created great excitement because it was such a direct assault on slavery. The South thought that the North was trying to arm the slaves and induce them to revolt against their masters.

V. The Question Settled

153. Election of Lincoln (1860). — The election of Lincoln was thought to mean that the North would attempt to liberate the slaves, although his party was pledged merely against the

extension of slavery. As the South had now a minority in Congress, secession seemed to be the only hope of maintaining the rights in which it believed.

154. South Carolina secedes (1860, Buchanan's Administration). — South Carolina seceded before Lincoln was inaugu-



And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free;

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

L.S. In Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTRACT FROM LINCOLN'S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

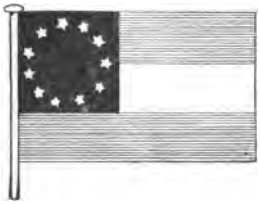
Reduced facsimile of the autograph copy

rated (December, 1860). It was soon joined by six other states. Early in 1861 these states organized a government under the name of the "Confederate States of America." Four

more states joined the Confederacy after Lincoln's first call for troops, making eleven states in all.

155. Emancipation Proclamation. — The war, which soon followed the secession, was waged avowedly to preserve the Union, not to free the slaves. But events seemed to Lincoln (1863) to warrant issuing an emancipation proclamation "as a fit and necessary war measure." It did not free the slaves in territory under union control, but only in those states engaged in rebellion. Slavery was not entirely abolished until after the conclusion of the war.

156. Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. — The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1865) prohibited slavery in the United States or in any place subject to its jurisdiction. It gave every slave his freedom. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) gave the freedmen the rights of citizenship. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) made it possible for them to vote. Fifty years of argument and bitter sectional feeling leading to civil war, resulted finally in according the negro all the rights of his white brother.



THE CONFEDERATE FLAG

The Civil War

I. Causes of the War (1861–1865)

157. Growth of Slavery in the South. — The real causes of the Civil War are to be found in the history of slavery. Slavery could not succeed as an institution in the North because the industrial conditions did not favor it. It accordingly died a natural death, and it was an easy matter for those opposed to slavery on moral grounds to secure legislation prohibiting it. Unfortunately, conditions in the South (especially after the invention of the cotton gin) seemed to favor the growth and extension of slavery. The advantages of slavery, however, were only apparent. The Southern planters seemed to profit by it. Few were wise enough to see that free labor in the long run is cheapest and best.

158. Effects of Slavery on the South. — The prosperity of a country depends on the respect for honest labor and on the industry of its people. There could be no dignity of labor where slavery existed. The planters led a life of leisure, often giving charge of their affairs into the hands of paid overseers. The poor whites were ashamed of their condition and worked as little as possible, while the slaves were lazy and careless; for no man will do his best who cannot receive for his own use the fruits of his labor. Immigrants avoided a country where labor was despised. The consequence was that the South developed its resources very slowly, and did not increase so rapidly in wealth and population as the North.

159. Effects of Freedom on the North. — The "equality of opportunity" which the North afforded its people stimulated industry and enterprise. There were of course rich and poor people, but there was no sharp dividing line between them. Every one, from the day laborer to the rich business man, was a workingman of some sort. Labor was respected and a democratic spirit prevailed. Immigrants eagerly sought the

Northern states to enjoy these advantages. The country increased wonderfully in wealth and power.

160. The Doctrine of State Rights. — The people of the South saw and feared the growing power of the North. They felt that the North might some day attain a political supremacy that would enable it to abolish slavery. They maintained the doctrine of state rights. According to this doctrine, the Union was a **compact of sovereign states**, and the powers of the central government were strictly limited. A state could refuse to obey a law of Congress which it considered unconstitutional, and had the right to secede from the Union if it thought that course of action necessary or desirable. The North maintained an exactly opposite doctrine, believing the nation to be an **indissoluble union of the people**, and refused to grant the degree of independence to the separate states which the South claimed.

161. Effect of the Election of Lincoln. — Although Lincoln declared in his inaugural speech that he had neither the right nor the inclination to interfere with the institution of slavery, yet the South believed that his election meant its abolition. A month before Lincoln's inauguration seven states seceded, and established a provisional government which they called the "Confederate States of America." Jefferson Davis was chosen president.

162. The Question at Issue. — The great question to be decided was the preservation or disruption of the Union. As Lincoln said, "Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish." But underlying the difference of doctrine respecting the rights of the states and of the central government was the irreconcilable conflict of opinion concerning the institution of slavery.

II. Events of the War

163. The Beginning of the War. — The Southern states were not content to secede peaceably, but undertook to capture

United States property, — forts, arsenals, etc. The first real act of war was the firing on Fort Sumter by the Confederates. This ended all wavering indecision in the North. Although Lincoln had said that he would not interfere with slavery, he had also pledged himself "to protect, defend, and preserve the Union." He immediately called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and took other steps to redeem that pledge.

164. The South on the Defensive. — The North had the advantage of more men, greater wealth, and command of the sea. The South was better prepared for the war, had the best-trained army officers, and could depend on the labor of the slaves while the white men joined the army. Except for Lee's two unsuccessful invasions of the North (Antietam and Gettysburg), the war was fought on Southern soil. The Confederates were therefore fighting on the defensive practically throughout the contest. This, although desolating to the country, was from a military point of view an advantage to the South.

165. The Union Plan and how it was carried out. — The Union plan was: —

(*a*) To BLOCKADE ALL SOUTHERN PORTS so as to cut off supplies from the South. This blockade was maintained very effectively. The South was unable to export its cotton and receive in exchange the supplies that it needed. This "starvation of the South by blockade" was one of the most important factors in securing the submission of the Confederacy.

(*b*) To OPEN THE MISSISSIPPI, so as to cut the Confederacy in two and give the North an outlet to the Gulf of Mexico. This was accomplished mainly by Generals Grant and Sherman and Admiral Farragut. By April, 1862, the Union forces had possession of the Mississippi as far south as Vicksburg. Later (April 25, 1862) Farragut's fleet took New Orleans, and on July 4, 1863, Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant. A few days later (July 9) Port Hudson also surrendered. This opened up the Mississippi, and put it entirely in the control of the Union forces.

(*c*) To CAPTURE RICHMOND. — General McClellan and his successors, after many bloody battles, failed in their operations against Richmond. Later, Grant was given the command, and he and Sherman agreed upon a "hammering campaign." Grant

CAMPAIGNS IN VIRGINIA

was to take Richmond; Sherman was to march through Georgia to the sea. Grant succeeded, after a stubborn campaign, in taking Petersburg (April 2, 1865), situated near Richmond, and the next day entered Richmond, which General Lee had

evacuated. A few days later (April 9) Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House near Richmond. Meanwhile Sherman had accomplished his task of breaking through the Confederate line in the west, marching to the sea, and thence northward to Virginia. He kept the enemy engaged so that they could not help Lee in his fight against Grant. Sherman was marching to reënforce the latter when Lee surrendered. This ended the great contest. The Confederacy had fallen.

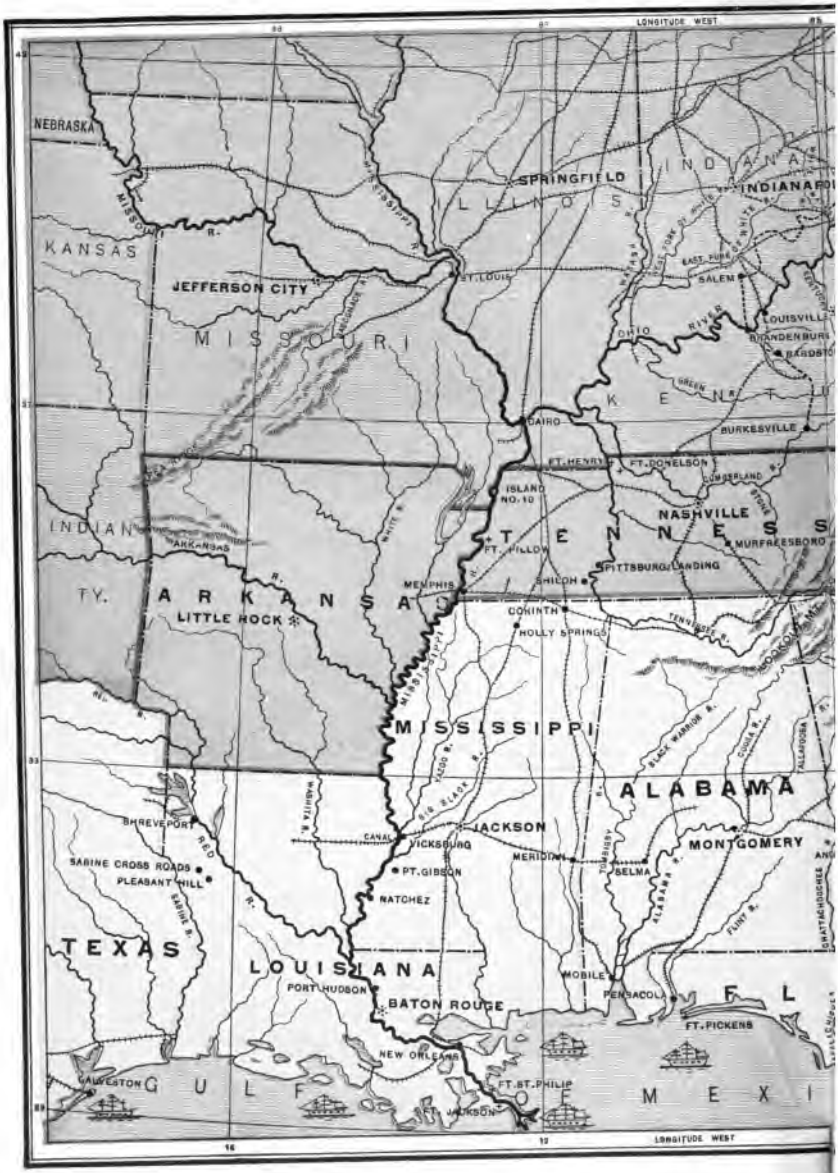
III. Effects and Consequences of the War

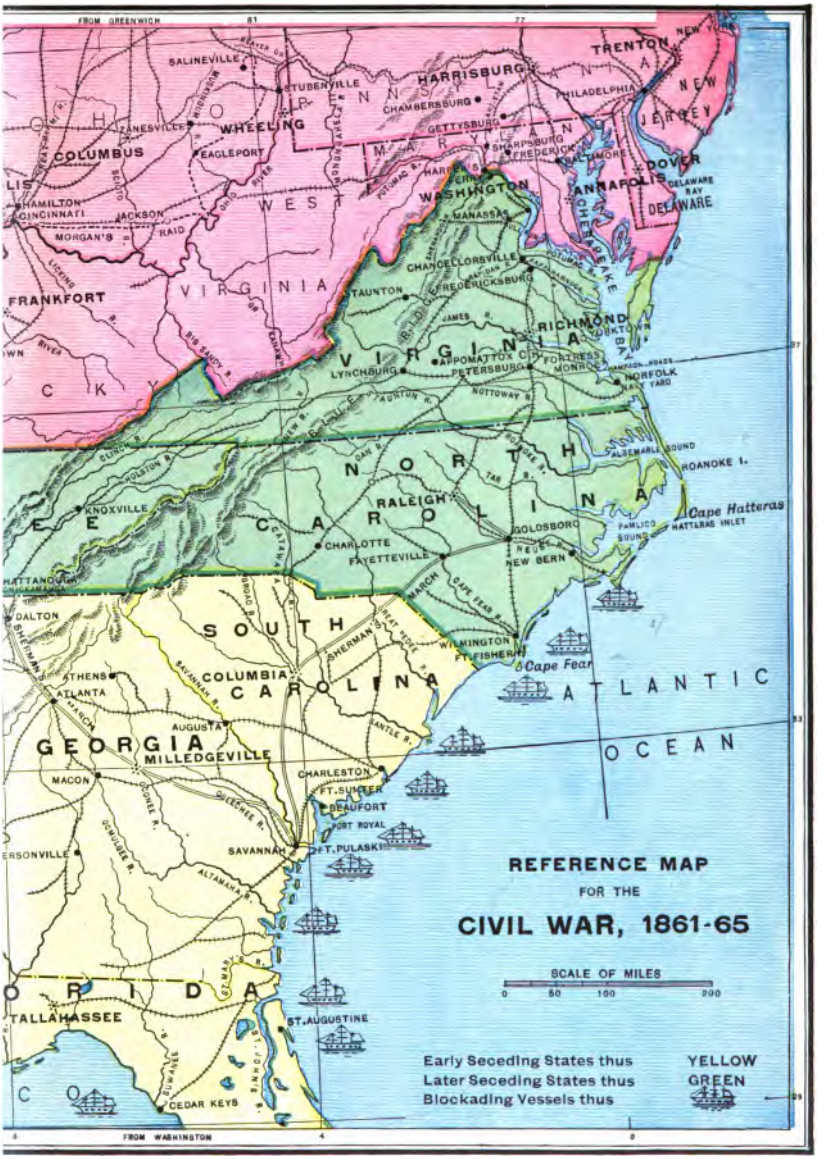
166. Results of the War. — The success of the North assured the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery. The Emancipation Proclamation had declared the freedom of the slaves within the Confederate lines, but did not free the slaves in loyal states nor in territory held by Union forces. The Thirteenth Amendment (December 18, 1865) soon completed the work of the Emancipation Proclamation. These great results, however, had been accomplished at a fearful cost. The nation lost nearly a million able-bodied men, and the South was one great area of desolation. The money cost can hardly be estimated. Industries suffered terribly, and a national debt of nearly three thousand millions existed at the end of the war.

167. The Problem of Reconstruction. — The difficult problem of reconstructing the Union had to be solved by the people with Andrew Johnson as President, as the untimely death of Abraham Lincoln by assassination had deprived the country of his great leadership. The greatest problem of all was how to treat the states that had seceded. How was their local government to be constructed? Under what conditions should they resume their places in the Union? Another great question was the payment of the national debt. The care of the millions of freed negroes was also a serious difficulty. Opinions differed greatly as to how the leaders of the rebellion should be treated.

168. How the Problem was Solved. — President Johnson's plan was very simple. He thought that the Southern states should be allowed to resume their places in the Union on condition that they repudiate the Secession ordinances and the Confederate war debt, and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment. They all complied with these demands, but Congress, which disagreed with the President, refused to admit the representatives of the Southern states until the rights of the freedmen were more carefully provided for. Military governors were appointed for the South, and no state was to be admitted unless it accepted the Fourteenth Amendment. It was not until 1870 that every state was thus readmitted. The Southern states were prevented from passing laws discriminating against the freedmen, and the right to vote was placed within their reach by the Fifteenth Amendment. There was, naturally, much disorder in readjusting the industrial, social, and political conditions. It was not until Hayes's administration (1877) that Federal troops were entirely withdrawn from the South. The leaders of the war were dealt with leniently. Jefferson Davis was never tried, and as early as 1868 a full pardon was granted all persons who had taken part against the Union. The war debt incurred by the North was assumed by the national government, but the Confederate debt was repudiated.

169. The Alabama Claims. — The *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers built in England and manned in part by English crews had wrought havoc with American commerce during the war. The United States keenly resented England's attitude in this matter, but was not in a position to demand justice until after the conclusion of the war. The claims against England were then strongly pressed. The difficulty between the two nations was finally settled by arbitration. According to the terms of the treaty, which was one of the great achievements of Grant's administration (1871), England paid the United States $15,500,000 in settlement of the claims. This was a great triumph for the principle of arbitration. (See § 295.)


LONGITUDE WEST
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
MISSOURI R.
JEFFERSON CITY
ST. LOUIS
SPRINGFIELD
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
INDIANAPOLIS
EAST FORK OF WHITE R.
SALEM
LOUISVILLE
OHIO RIVER
BRANDENBURG
BARDSTOWN
GREEN R.
KENTUCKY
CAIRO
BURKESVILLE
FT. HENRY
FT. DONELSON
CUMBERLAND R.
ISLAND NO. 10
NASHVILLE
TENNESSEE
MURFREESBORO
INDIAN TY.
ARKANSAS R.
WHITE R.
FT. PILLOW
PITTSBURG LANDING
MEMPHIS
SHILOH
ARKANSAS
LITTLE ROCK
CORINTH
HOLLY SPRINGS
TENNESSEE R.
TOMBIGBEE R.
MISSISSIPPI R.
MISSISSIPPI
BLACK WARRIOR R.
ALABAMA
YAZOO R.
BIG BLACK R.
TOMBIGBEE R.
ALABAMA R.
BOSSIER
RED R.
SHREVEPORT
CANAL
VICKSBURG
JACKSON
MONTGOMERY
SABINE CROSS ROADS
PLEASANT HILL
PT. GIBSON
MERIDIAN
SELMA
NATCHEZ
SABINE R.
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
PORT HUDSON
BATON ROUGE
MOBILE
PENSACOLA
FT. PICKENS
NEW ORLEANS
GALVESTON
GULF OF MEXICO
FT. ST. PHILIP
FT. JACKSON
LONGITUDE WEST


FROM GREENWICH
81
77
TRENTON
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
HARRISBURG
PHILADELPHIA
NEW JERSEY
SALINEVILLE
STUBENVILLE
WHEELING
CHAMBERSBURG
OHIO
ZANESVILLE
COLUMBUS
EAGLEPORT
GETTYSBURG
SHARPSBURG
FREDERICK
BALTIMORE
DOVER
ANNAPOLIS
DELAWARE BAY
DELAWARE
HAMILTON
CINCINNATI
JACKSON RAID
MORGAN'S RAID
WASHINGTON
MANASSAS
WEST VIRGINIA
CHANCELLORSVILLE
FREDERICKSBURG
FRANKFORT
STAUNTON
RICHMOND
YORKTOWN
VIRGINIA
APPOMATTOX C.H.
LYNCHBURG
PETERSBURG
FORTRESS MONROE
NORFOLK
NAVY YARD
KENTUCKY
ALBEMARLE SOUND
ROANOKE I.
NORTH CAROLINA
KNOXVILLE
RALEIGH
Cape Hatteras
HATTERAS INLET
GOLDSBORO
CHARLOTTE
FAYETTEVILLE
NEW BERN
DALTON
SOUTH CAROLINA
WILMINGTON
FT. FISHER
Cape Fear
ATLANTIC
ATHENS
COLUMBIA
ATLANTA
AUGUSTA
GEORGIA
MILLEDGEVILLE
OCEAN
MACON
CHARLESTON
FT. SUMTER
BEAUFORT
PORT ROYAL
SAVANNAH
FT. PULASKI
TALLAHASSEE
ST. AUGUSTINE
CEDAR KEYS
FROM WASHINGTON
REFERENCE MAP
FOR THE
CIVIL WAR, 1861-65
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Early Seceding States thus
Later Seceding States thus
Blockading Vessels thus
YELLOW
GREEN

PART III

FINANCE AND POLITICS

CHAPTER VIII

Financial History

Money of Colonial and Revolutionary Times 97
Currency after the Revolution 99
Bimetallism 100
Banking System 102
Raising Revenue 104
The Tariff Question 105

CHAPTER IX

History of Political Parties

Introductory 109
Interpretation of the Constitution and the Origin of Parties . . 110
The Federalists and Republicans (from Washington to John Quincy Adams) 112
Rise of the Democratic and Whig Parties 115
Slavery and the Civil War as Political Questions 117
Recent Political Issues 120

CHAPTER VIII

FINANCIAL HISTORY

Money of Colonial and Revolutionary Times. — 170. Barter and Substitutes for Money. 171. English and Foreign Coins. 172. Paper Money. 173. Continental Money.

Currency after the Revolution. — 174. Constitutional Provisions. 175. United States or Federal Money. 176. The Mint Established.

Bimetallism. — 177. The Ratio between Gold and Silver. 178. Silver Coinage Discontinued. 179. The Bland Dollar. 180. The Silver Question.

Banking System. — 181. The Bank of North America. 182. First United States Bank. 183. State Banks. 184. Second National Bank. 185. President Jackson and the United States Bank. 186. President Van Buren and the Independent Treasury System. 187. National Banks.

Raising Revenue. — 188. Necessity of Revenue. 189. How the Continental Congress raised Money. 190. The National Debt. 191. How Money is raised by the Government.

The Tariff Question. — 192. The First Tariff: a Tariff for Revenue. 193. The American System: a Protective Tariff. 194. Opposition to the Tariff. 195. Nullification Act of South Carolina. 196. Tariff Legislation.

CHAPTER VIII

FINANCIAL HISTORY

I. Money of Colonial and Revolutionary Times

170. Barter and Substitutes for Money. — The early colonists suffered great inconvenience in conducting their business and commerce, owing to the scarcity of gold and silver coin. They were compelled to carry on a great deal of their everyday trade by means of the clumsy system of barter. The Indians used as money strings of beads or shells called wampum, and the colonists employed it in trading not only with the Indians, but also among themselves. Various other substitutes for money were employed. Thus some valuable staple production of a region would circulate there at its market value. In Virginia, for example, tobacco was thus used. Farther north furs of different kinds became units of value. These expedients were better than mere barter, but we have only to imagine trying to transact our daily business in such fashion to realize how crude and inconvenient it must have been. Fortunately the colonists led simple lives, and their wants were few. It would be as impossible for people of our great cities to-day to conduct business by such primitive methods as it would be for them to live without other comforts and conveniences (railroads, steamboats, electrical appliances, etc.), which are essential features of modern civilization.

171. English and Foreign Coins. — The little real money that circulated in colonial and Revolutionary times consisted principally of English money and a great variety of foreign coins, — Spanish, Dutch, etc. Some money was especially coined for the colonies by England, and some of the colonies coined

money for themselves. The most celebrated of these coins was the **pine-tree shilling,** made in Massachusetts. The lack of a single system made exchange very troublesome. If a schoolmaster succeeded in getting his best scholars to understand "how to make change," he was doing very well. To make matters worse, the coins that were used principally in one part of the country had little circulation in other parts, and the rate of

PINE-TREE SHILLING

exchange had to be determined in all cases of intercolonial commerce. In many places the Spanish milled dollar was the standard unit of value to which all others were reduced.

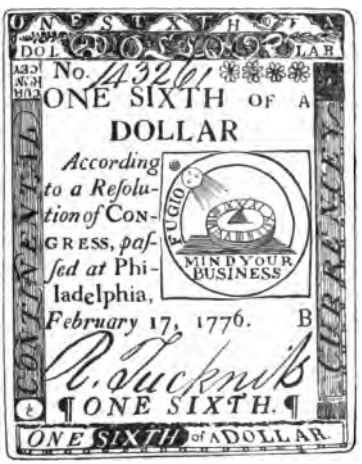
172. Paper Money. — The colonists at times used paper money. So long as this was redeemable in coin, it generally circulated at or near its face value in the locality where it was issued. The paper money of one colony, however, was not always accepted in another, and seldom at par. A kind of money that would be understood by every one and be accepted everywhere at its full face value was a great commercial need. The establishment of such a universal currency was not realized in the early history of our country.

173. Continental Money. — During the Revolution the Continental Congress attempted to raise money by issuing printed bills of credit. This was called Continental money. As the government had no gold or silver to make good its promises to pay, the Continental money soon became almost worthless. English coins were still in circulation. The separate states also issued paper money of as little value as the Continental

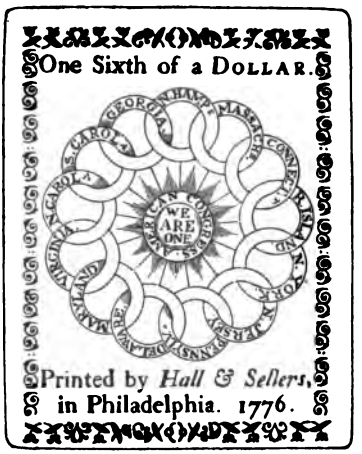
money, with the additional disadvantage of variations in purchasing power in different states. English merchants carried off much of the coin left in the states, for they would not take the paper money.

II. Currency after the Revolution

174. Constitutional Provisions. — Under the Articles of Confederation (1781–89) Congress had power to regulate the alloy and value of coin; but the states, as well as Congress, had



Face



Back

REDUCED SPECIMEN OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY

power to coin money. The Constitution gave full charge of monetary matters into the hands of the Federal government. Congress was given "power to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin," and the states were expressly denied the power to "coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." These constitutional provisions paved the way for the establishment of a Federal currency. Meanwhile the people

were compelled to get along with the same mixture of foreign coins and paper money that they had used during the war.

175. United States or Federal Money. — **Robert Morris** suggested an independent system of coinage for the United States. He proposed to render all money calculations simple and easy by use of a decimal system. **Thomas Jefferson** aided him in his plans, and suggested the dollar as the unit of value, because the people's familiarity with the Spanish dollar would make the change to the new system easier. The final outcome was the adoption of the decimal system in use at the present time.

176. The Mint Established. — A mint was ordered by Congress to be established at Philadelphia in 1791, and in 1792 the first coins were struck. The government conducted all its transactions on the basis of the new currency, and one by one the several states did the same. Foreign coins circulated, however, for many years, as the mint did not issue coins fast enough to meet the demand. The people became accustomed to the new system very gradually. Even after the foreign coins had entirely disappeared from circulation, some of the old terms — shilling, levy, fip, etc. — persisted in use. To-day, however, even these traces of the old state of things have passed away.

III. Bimetallism

177. The Ratio between Gold and Silver. — Gold, silver, and copper were used in making the new money. The fineness and weight of the coins, therefore, had to be carefully determined in order that a dollar in gold might be equal in value to a silver dollar. The first silver coins made contained fifteen times as much pure silver as the same denomination in gold coins contained pure gold. This ratio was adopted because at that time gold was worth fifteen times as much as silver. The market value of gold and silver bullion, however, varied with the supply, causing the ratio between the two to change from time to time. In 1834 Congress reduced the amount of pure gold in the dollar, changing the ratio from 15 to 1 to 15.988 to 1, or, as it was commonly called, "16 to 1." Later changes in

the market value of the two metals have not been met by Congress by changes in the size or purity of the coins.

178. Silver Coinage Discontinued. — The gold discoveries in California and Australia made the actual value of silver dollars greater than that of the gold dollar. The former gradually passed out of circulation, and in 1873 Congress declared the silver dollar not a legal tender, and ceased to coin it. This was known as the "Demonetization of Silver."

179. The Bland Dollar. — Owing to the discovery of valuable silver mines in the West, the price of silver began to decline. As there was a demand for more money in circulation, Congress passed the Bland Act (1878), reauthorizing the coinage of a certain amount of silver into dollars. A still greater coinage of silver was later authorized by the Sherman Act (1890). This compelled the government to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly. The intrinsic value of silver meanwhile had fallen so low that a silver dollar was actually worth only about fifty cents in gold. It passed at its face value only because of faith in the government's intention and ability to redeem it in gold. The purchase requirement of the Sherman Act was held to be in part responsible for the financial distress of 1893, and it was accordingly repealed by Congress after a long and bitter contest, President Cleveland having called an extra session of Congress for that purpose.

180. The Silver Question. — The demand for "the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1" grew so strong in certain parts of the country that it became the great issue of the political compaign of 1896. The Republican party opposed this demand. Some of the party, however, — "Silver Republicans," — believing in the necessity of **free coinage**, joined the Democratic ranks. On the other hand, "Gold Democrats" nominated an independent ticket on a "gold standard platform." The result was a decisive victory for the Republican party. The Democrats made the free coinage of silver one of the issues of the next campaign (1900), and were again overwhelmingly defeated.

IV. Banking System

181. The Bank of North America. — Robert Morris, a wealthy business man of Philadelphia, contributed greatly to the success of the Revolutionary War by his skilful management of the financial difficulties into which the country was thrown. (See §§ 70 and 73.) The Continental Congress, when its finances were at their lowest ebb, and its paper money practically worthless, requested Morris to act as Superintendent of Finance. He succeeded in having the Bank of North America established (1781), and by drawing upon his own wealth and securing foreign loans, he materially relieved the desperate condition of affairs. The bank thus established is, next to one in Boston, the oldest in the United States.

182. The First United States Bank. — Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, aided Washington greatly in the difficult task of establishing a new government by his brilliant management of the financial problems which it had to face. He submitted to Congress a plan for a national bank, with a capital of $10,000,000. The bank was to be located in Philadelphia, and have branches in other cities. It was to be a private corporation, but to be chartered by the United States, and was to receive the government money for deposit and distribution. The government was also to be a shareholder in the bank. The bank was established in 1791, with a twenty-year charter. The bank bills which it issued were received by the government in payment for land, taxes, etc. They circulated all over the country at their face value and greatly facilitated business operations. The bank was closed (1811) on the expiration of its charter.

183. State Banks. — There were only four state banks when the National Bank was established, but they multiplied rapidly after that date. When the National Bank lost its charter, they increased altogether too rapidly. During the War of 1812 they were compelled to suspend "specie payment." This occasioned great business distress throughout the country.

184. Second National Bank. — To remedy the financial distress of the country Congress chartered (1816) a second National Bank with a capital of $35,000,000. It was very similar in plan to the first National Bank, and was known as the United States Bank.

185. President Jackson and the United States Bank. — President Jackson was strongly opposed to the United States Bank. He believed it to be badly managed and a possible source of political corruption. He succeeded in preventing a renewal of the charter, and ordered the government money to be removed from it and deposited in certain state banks. These became known as "pet banks." This killed the Bank, but led (as in 1811) to the multiplication of small banks. They all issued paper money. There was a period of wild speculation followed by the great financial panic of 1837.

186. President Van Buren and the Independent Treasury System. — The "pet banks" were regarded as the cause of the panic of 1837. Opinion was divided as to the remedy. Many thought a third National Bank should be chartered; but President Van Buren believed that the government should create an independent treasury system, thus doing what it had never done before, viz., take entire charge of its money. An independent treasury was to be established in Washington with branches or subtreasuries in the leading cities. There were many objections raised by those who favored a United States Bank. The Treasury System, however, was established in 1840. It was abolished in 1841, but reëstablished in 1846, and has since been continued.

187. National Banks. — A system of national banks was established in 1863. These banks must deposit United States bonds with the Treasurer at Washington. They can then issue notes to an amount equal to 90% of the par value of these bonds. The bonds serve as security for the notes that are issued, and the latter, therefore, are guaranteed by the credit of the United States. Currency of state banks was taxed so heavily that it ceased to be profitable to issue it. Many of these

banks, therefore, bought and deposited the bonds, thus becoming national banks. As the credit of the United States government became stronger, the bank notes increased in value, until they became "as good as gold." This was largely due to the "resumption of specie payments" in 1879. The banking system of the United States is now on a firm basis, and no other country of the world has a stronger credit.

V. Raising Revenue

188. Necessity of Revenue. — The government of a nation cannot be conducted without money. The salaries and other expenses of the legislative, judicial, and executive departments; the maintenance of an army and navy "to provide for the common defence"; and the many things that must be done "to promote the general welfare" of the country all involve heavy expenditures. Besides these running expenses there is generally a public or national debt on which interest must be paid until the debt itself can be cancelled. A government, therefore, must have the power to lay and collect taxes, for its very existence depends upon it. The most important difference between the government before and that after 1789 was that the former had no power to enforce the collection of taxes, and the latter had this power expressly granted to it.

189. How the Continental Congress raised Money. — The Continental Congress was forced to resort to all sorts of measures to raise money to pay the expenses of the Revolutionary War. The states were called upon to contribute, but comparatively little money was raised in this way. Congress was, therefore, obliged to issue paper money and certificates of various kinds. These were all "promises to pay" the face value of the bills; but as the government had no gold or silver to redeem its promises, the Continental money soon became almost worthless — "not worth a Continental." Congress also borrowed about $12,000,000 from foreign nations.

190. The National Debt. — The debts thus contracted by the Continental Congress, as well as those which the several states

had incurred, were not repudiated by the new government under the Constitution. Alexander Hamilton proposed that interest-bearing bonds should be issued in exchange for the old debts. This was done, and the national debt thus formally acknowledged amounted in 1790 to $55,000,000. The assumption of this debt helped greatly to establish the credit of the United States on a firm basis.

191. How Money is raised by the Government. — Money is raised by the government in two ways: (1) by taxation; (2) by borrowing.

TAXATION. — The taxes imposed are of two kinds: direct and indirect. As direct taxes are hard to collect, they have seldom been imposed, and but little money has been obtained by the government in this way. Customs (duties on imported goods) and internal taxes (upon goods manufactured within the country, principally upon liquors and tobacco) are the two great sources of national revenue. These are indirect taxes, because while the importer or manufacturer pays the tax in the first place, the people afterward indirectly pay it in the higher price charged for the goods.

BORROWING. — "To borrow money on the credit of the United States" is expressly stated in the Constitution as one of the powers of Congress. It is almost as necessary as "the power to lay and collect taxes." Ordinary expenses may be provided for by taxation, but for extraordinary expenses, such as those of war, Congress may be compelled to borrow. It may do this by selling interest-bearing bonds. These must be redeemed by the government at a specific time. Another way for Congress to borrow money is by issuing treasury notes. These notes circulate as money and maintain their par value as long as the people have faith in the ability of the government to redeem them in coin.

VI. The Tariff Question

192. The First Tariff: a Tariff for Revenue. — One of the first acts passed by Congress (1789) was a tariff act, imposing

duties upon imports. Custom houses were established, and custom house officers appointed for the collection of this tax. This act was mainly for the purpose of raising revenue to carry on the government, although the protection of home industries was also one of its objects.

193. The American System: a Protective Tariff. — The War of 1812, and the events which led up to it, had so interfered with American commerce that the people were compelled to manufacture many goods formerly purchased from abroad. This gave a great impulse to manufacturing in the United States, and many people thought that the government should encourage and foster these "infant industries," as they were called. The method proposed was so to increase the price of imports, by imposing a high tariff, as to make it cheaper for Americans to buy articles of home manufacture. This high tariff was called a "protective tariff," because it was for the purpose of protecting American industries. It also became known as the American system. The first protective tariff act was passed in 1816. Other protective tariff acts were passed later, and the system continued until 1846. From that date until the Civil War, the protective duties were taken off, and only a small tariff for revenue was imposed.

194. Opposition to the Tariff. — Tariff legislation had not been received without opposition. The North, which had become a great manufacturing district, was strongly in favor of a protective tariff. The South had no manufactures to protect, and objected to the high prices which the tariff caused. The Southern planters demanded "free trade." Calhoun became the leader of the movement, and declared that the protective tariff was not only unwise, but also unconstitutional. South Carolina threatened to secede if the tariff was enforced. So great was the opposition that Congress, largely through the influence of Henry Clay, changed the tariff in 1832 to make it less objectionable to the South.

195. Nullification Act of South Carolina. — But the South still objected to the tariff, for they opposed the *principle* of protec-

tion. South Carolina declared the act "null and void," and refused to pay the duties. Though President Jackson did not favor protection himself, he insisted upon obedience to the laws of the United States, and prepared to collect the duties by force. (See § 208.) Through the efforts of Henry Clay, a compromise tariff act was passed in 1833, which provided for a gradual lowering of the duties. A "force bill" was also passed, giving the President power to compel the collection of duties. South Carolina repealed her nullification act, and danger of secession was temporarily averted.

196. Tariff Legislation. — Other tariff acts were passed which gradually reduced the duties. From 1846 until 1861 the tariff was practically "a tariff for revenue only." To help meet the enormous expenses of the Civil War, a high tariff was again imposed. This was practically a renewal of the protective tariff, and ever since the Civil War the tariff problem has been one of the principal political questions. Almost all believe in the necessity of a tariff for revenue. Some think it should be for this purpose only. Others believe it should be high in order to protect and encourage American industries. Some favor absolute free trade, *i.e.* no tariff at all, believing this to be in the end for the advantage of all nations. The McKinley Tariff Act (1890) imposed high duties on foreign goods, to protect American manufactures against competition. The Wilson Bill (1894) reduced the tariff and opposed the principle of protection. The Dingley Act (1897, and still in force) again imposed higher duties.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Introductory. — 197. Importance of the Subject.

Interpretation of the Constitution and the Origin of Parties. — 198. Supremacy of the Constitution. 199. Strict and Loose Construction. 200. Party Names. 201. Political Issues.

The Federalists and Republicans (from Washington to John Q. Adams). — 202. Federalists and Anti-Federalists. 203. Party Contests Arise. 204. Party Organization: Republican and Federalist Opposition. 205. The First Political Contest for President. 206. The Fall of the Federalist Party.

Rise of the Democratic and Whig Parties. — 207. Split of the Republican Party. 208. Nullification. 209. Whig Successes.

Slavery and the Civil War as Political Questions. — 210. Slavery becomes a Political Issue. 211. Decline of the Whig Party 212. Political Issues preceding the Civil War: Rise of the Republican Party. 213. Election of Lincoln. 214. Politics during the Civil War. 215. Reconstruction.

Recent Political Issues. — 216. Democrats return to Power. 217. Rise of the People's Party: Currency becomes an Important Issue. 218. Expansion becomes an Issue.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

I. Introductory

197. Importance of the Subject. — The character of our government leads its citizens to take a great interest in politics. Such political discussions too often degenerate into bitter quarrels, because there is no subject in which ignorance and prejudice are more conspicuous. Many people insist on voting year after year for the same political party without having any knowledge whatever of what the party stands for, or whether its principles and nominees are just and upright. Perhaps their real reason for casting their vote with a certain political party is merely that their fathers did so before them. This by itself is surely a very poor reason, for every American citizen ought to be independent and think and decide for himself. Parties change and conditions change; and to have voted a certain way at some particular time in the past is by no means a reason for voting so now. In politics particularly the maxim should be borne in mind, "Be right to-day, though wrong yesterday." The American voter then should be thoughtful and honest, voting for principles and men considered by him to be the best. But he must also have sufficient knowledge to enable him to vote intelligently. He should be thoroughly acquainted with the history of his country, and especially with the various ideas of government held by its great statesmen. He will then not be dependent solely on newspaper reports and editorials, which are too frequently one-sided, but will be in a position to exercise independent judgment in casting his vote.

II. Interpretation of the Constitution and the Origin of Parties

198. Supremacy of the Constitution. — All legitimate political parties, no matter how widely they have differed on various points, have agreed in regard to acknowledging the Constitution as the supreme law of the land. There have been various attempts to amend the Constitution, and divergent views have always existed in regard to the powers it actually gives to the different departments of the government, but there has been no serious attempt to put it aside altogether. In fact, the Constitution has worked so admirably as the supreme law that even the Southern Confederacy when it set up an independent government, practically copied the Federal Constitution. So great has been the reverence in which the Constitution has been held by the most antagonistic political parties, that the bitterest criticism that one party could direct against another has been the accusation that its doctrines were unconstitutional.

199. Strict and Loose Construction. — There were practically no political parties in this country prior to the constitutional convention (1787). This does not mean that all men had the same opinions in regard to the duties and powers of government, but their differences had not been brought out clearly enough to divide the people definitely into parties. This was even the case to some extent in the beginning of Washington's first administration. The real and fundamental distinction between parties has grown out of the interpretation of the Constitution. There were two opposing views: —

(1) Many were in favor of a **strong central government,** whose officers should have power to rule the entire nation. Some of the extremists of this party were in favor of an executive holding office for life, as in a monarchy. They thought that the powers of the separate states should be strictly limited, and that the national or Federal government should have almost complete authority. They held that it was the intention of the Constitution to bring about this state of affairs, and believed in so interpreting that instrument as to give the Presi-

dent, Congress, and Federal judiciary as large a measure of power as possible. They were perfectly sincere in their views, and hoped to avert a real danger of disunion by the application of their principles. The "rope of sand" of the confederation had served as an emphatic warning to them. On account of their liberal, broad, or loose way of interpreting the Constitution, so as to increase the power of the national government, they have been termed "**Loose Constructionists.**"

(2) The other party held almost exactly opposite views. Many of them had originally been opposed to the Constitution, fearing that the **rights of the states** were not given enough consideration. (See § 93.) They had forced many compromises on the other or national party in order to secure rights to the states and people. The first ten amendments, passed through their influence, were an expression of their feeling that individual liberty should not be abused or endangered. After the Constitution, in its finally compromised form, had been adopted, they insisted on a strict literal interpretation of its clauses so as to restrict as far as possible the powers of the general government. On this account they have been called "**Strict Constructionists.**"

200. Party Names. — These terms, "Strict and Loose Constructionists," were never used as party names, but only as descriptions. The first Loose Constructionists were called Federalists, and their opponents Anti-Federalists. Later the Strict Constructionist party adopted the name of "Democratic Republican" and afterward simply "Republican." This must not be confused with the Republican party of to-day, which is really a Loose Constructionist party. The Loose Constructionists were for a time called "Whigs," and the Strict Constructionists eventually took the name of "Democrats," which is their designation to this day. The Loose Constructionist party of to-day is called Republican. It must not be supposed that the parties holding these opposing views never encroached on each other's territory. Neither people nor parties are always perfectly consistent, and we shall find in our study now and

then Strict Constructionists holding some Loose Constructionist views, and *vice versa*.

201. Political Issues. — Together with its nominations for the presidency, for Congress, etc., each party generally gives formal expression to its views on important subjects of the day, suggesting improvements, proposing new legislation and passing remedies for existing evils, discussing our relationship to foreign nations, or adverse criticism on the views of opposing parties. The expression of these principles forms what is known as the party platform. It is supposed to give voters information as to what the party proposes to accomplish if it succeeds in winning the election. The issue may turn on a threatened war, as happened when Polk was elected, or on an attempt to improve the condition of the laboring class, giving rise to a Labor party; or on the view that women as well as men should be allowed to vote — the Woman Suffrage party; or on government interference with the liquor traffic — the Prohibition party, etc. The main issues, however, which have divided the political parties have arisen from the opposing views of Strict and Loose Constructionists in regard to a protective tariff, financial questions, internal improvements, and slavery. The question of how the government shall treat our foreign possessions is to-day becoming an important issue, and may divide the political parties for some years.

III. The Federalists and Republicans (from Washington to John Quincy Adams)

202. Federalists and Anti-Federalists. — During Washington's first administration, the opposing parties had not perfected anything like definite organizations. Although Washington himself had decided Federalist leanings, he received the unanimous vote of all the electors. He showed great tact and moderation in the selection of his cabinet. Alexander Hamilton, a Federalist, was made Secretary of the Treasury; and General Henry Knox, also a Federalist, was made Secretary of War. John Jay, likewise a Federalist, was

made Chief Justice. The Anti-Federalist party was recognized by the selection of Thomas Jefferson for Secretary of State, and Edmund Randolph for Attorney General. Washington displayed similar tact in harmonizing the opposing views of his advisers. By thus delaying sharp party contest, the Constitution was given a chance to show its real merits.

203. Party Contests Arise. — The first important party contest in Congress grew out of the consideration of Hamilton's proposal that the Federal government should assume and pay the debts incurred by the states during the Revolution. (See § 98.) All the Anti-Federalists united in opposition to the measure, as they feared it would belittle the power of the states and give the "money power" permanently to the central government. It was finally adopted, however, through Hamilton's making a political bargain with some of the Anti-Federalists. Two other measures were adopted by Congress in spite of Anti-Federalist opposition. These were the bill establishing the United States Bank (see § 182), which created much bitter party feeling for about fifty years, and the "Excise Laws." (See § 99.) In both these instances the Anti-Federalists contended that Congress was exceeding its constitutional authority.

204. Party Organization: Republican and Federalist Opposition. — Party organization began to appear in 1792, when all the opponents of the Federalists (they were no longer Anti-Federalists, strictly speaking, as they did not oppose the Federal Union) put aside minor differences and formed a party styled by Jefferson **Democratic-Republican.** It was subsequently called Republican, but its real successor to-day is what we call the Democratic party. The present Republican party is the successor of the old Federalists. The Democratic-Republican party of Washington's time was in hearty sympathy with the French Revolutionists, especially as these latter represented — although in an extreme way — the view of the absolute equality of men, a view of which Jefferson, as author of the Declaration of Independence and the leader of the Anti-Federalists, was a warm advocate. (See § 109.) Later,

when France attempted to gain our aid against England, Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality, thus inviting the bitter denunciations of the Republicans, as the Anti-Federalists were now called. There were a number of party contests in Congress during Washington's administrations, the most important arising over Hamilton's financial proposals. The Eleventh Amendment adopted in 1798 in Adams's administration was a Republican measure.

205. The First Political Contest for President occurred at the end of Washington's administration. No nominations were made, but the Federalists voted for John Adams, and the Republicans for Thomas Jefferson. The present system of electing the President and Vice President had not been introduced at that time. The person receiving the highest number of votes, provided that number was a majority, was made President, and the person receiving the next number became Vice President. "The Federalists claimed support as the authors of the government, the friends of neutrality, peace, and prosperity, and the direct inheritors of Washington's policy. The Republicans claimed to be the friends of liberty and the rights of man, the advocates of economy and of the rights of the states, and refused to recognize their opponents as the inheritors of any policy but that of England." In the election which followed, John Adams was declared President and Thomas Jefferson, Vice President, the two highest officials of the nation being thus of opposite parties, a thing which could not occur to-day. Most of the Northern states had chosen Federalist electors, while the Southern states chose Republican.

206. The Fall of the Federalist Party. — John Adams was the second and last Federalist President. The two measures which did more than anything else to bring about the fall of the party were the Alien and Sedition Laws. These laws were passed while the United States was on the verge of a war with France. (See § 110.) They gave the President power to banish or imprison foreigners, and imposed heavy fine or imprisonment on any one attacking the government's officials

in a slanderous or malicious way. The Republicans regarded these laws as unconstitutional, as they were directly opposed to the First Amendment, which grants freedom of speech and of the press. The legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky passed resolutions (1798–9) protesting against the Alien and Sedition Laws as a usurpation of power by the Federal government, and maintaining that the states had the right to resist such unconstitutional acts of Congress. In the following presidential election (1800) Thomas Jefferson, a Republican, was elected President. He announced as the policy of the party the strict limitation of Federal powers and the careful guarding of state rights. In the election of 1804 Jefferson was reëlected, the Federalists carrying only two states, — Connecticut and Delaware. The final extinction of the Federal party was due to their opposition to the War of 1812. At the close of this war there was really but one party in the United States, whose principles, however, were a combination of those of the original Federal and Republican parties. So complete was the triumph of the Republican party by 1820 that Monroe, a Republican, received 228 out of 229 electoral votes, just one short of a unanimous vote.

IV. Rise of the Democratic and Whig Parties

207. Split of the Republican Party. — Although there was now but one recognized party — the Republican — all the members of this party were by no means of one mind in regard to government policy. There were many under the leadership of Henry Clay who favored Loose Constructionist views, such as an increase of army and navy, a protective tariff, general public improvements at the expense of the nation, etc. They soon took as their party name that of National Republicans, and were afterward known as **Whigs**. They were really Federalists in almost everything except name. Their opponents, the Strict Constructionists, regarded these measures as either unconstitutional or unwise. As they

united upon Jackson for their nominee, they were known as "Jackson Men," but later they took the party name of **Democrats**, which they retain to this day. The Southern faction of this party took a very extreme view in favor of state rights. They even went so far as to maintain the declaration of the Kentucky resolutions of 1799, that the states and the Federal government were parties to a compact, and that "nullification" was the rightful remedy when the Federal government overstepped its constitutional authority. The passage of the protective tariff of 1828 (see § 195), which was as objectionable to the South as it was satisfactory to the North, served to increase the feeling in favor of the doctrine of nullification in the South. In the election of 1828 the Democrats won a great victory over the National Republicans, Andrew Jackson being elected President.

208. Nullification. — Although Jackson was a Democrat and a Strict Constructionist, he did not encourage the views of the extreme Southern faction of the party. The doctrine of nullification (which became secession in 1860) had rapidly gained strength in the South. In the case of the Cherokee Indians, acts of Congress and supreme court decisions had been ignored by the state of Georgia. In 1832 a convention was held at Columbia, South Carolina, in which the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 were formally declared to be "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon the State, its officers or citizens." The convention also declared that any attempt at force would lead to the secession of South Carolina from the Union. President Jackson, whose views had been well expressed by his voluntary toast, "The Federal Union, it *must* be preserved," at once issued a proclamation declaring his firm intention to enforce the laws of the United States. Naval vessels were ordered to Charleston harbor, and military protection furnished for the collectors of the tariff duties. South Carolina was thus forced to submit.

209. Whig Successes. — By 1834 the National Republican party began to be called **Whigs**. In the election of 1836,

although Van Buren, a Democrat, was elected President, the Whigs polled a much larger vote than at the previous election. The Strict Constructionist views held by the Democratic Congress and President, prevented them from taking any steps to relieve the financial panic of 1837. (See § 185.) This brought them into disfavor, and many Democrats became Whigs. So greatly had the party grown by the election of 1840, that only two Northern and five Southern states chose Democratic electors. The Whig candidates, Harrison and Tyler, were overwhelmingly successful.

V. Slavery and the Civil War as Political Questions

210. Slavery becomes a Political Issue. — The National Anti-slavery Society had been formed in 1833. (See § 144.) It grew rapidly in the North. At first, sentiment, both in the North and in the South, was against agitation of the slavery question, as it was feared that it might lead to the disruption of the Union. The opponents of slavery were known as Abolitionists. The question of the annexation of Texas practically decided the election of 1844. This annexation was opposed by many because it was thought that it would lead to war with Mexico and an extension of slave territory. The Democrats nominated Polk, who was a warm advocate of annexation. The Whigs nominated Henry Clay. The contest, which was very close, resulted in the election of Polk, who had been nominated on a Strict Constructionist platform. In his message he advocated a tariff for revenue only, and discouraged all anti-slavery agitation. A new party, the **Free-soilers**, was now formed with a platform opposing slavery. The party consisted of the old Liberty party and many Democrats who were opposed to the extension of slavery. In the election which followed the Whigs were successful, Taylor and Fillmore being elected.

211. Decline of the Whig Party. — Both the great parties, the Democratic and Whig, were afraid to take a positive stand against slavery, although there were many members of both

parties opposed to the institution. The Democrats who opposed slavery joined the Free-soil party, but their place was more than made up for by reënforcements from the Whigs, who were in favor of slavery. The Democratic party thus reënforced became more and more pro-slavery. The Whig losses, however, were not made up for, and the party declined in power until it was succeeded by an anti-slavery party in 1855–56. The Democratic party being Strict Constructionists, naturally favored "squatter sovereignty" (see § 149), and held that the Constitution gave Congress no power to interfere with slavery in new territories. There was now an attempt made by the South to control the Democratic party. The actual fall of the Whig party was due to its advocacy of the Fugitive Slave Law, a part of the Compromise of 1850. (See § 147.) In the election of 1852 only four states were carried by the Whigs, Pierce, the Democratic nominee, being elected by a large majority. The Free-soil Democrats had declared in their platform that slavery was a sin against God and a crime against man.

212. Political Issues preceding the Civil War: Rise of the Republican Party. — The most important measure of Congress during Pierce's administration was the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which repudiated the Missouri Compromise and allowed each territory to decide for itself either in favor of or against slavery. The bill was opposed by the Northern Whigs, Free-soilers, and some of the Northern Democrats. The Southern Democrats and Whigs voted in favor of the bill. The Northern Whigs now gave up the designation of Whigs and were known for a while as **Anti-Nebraska men.** Later, in 1856, they adopted the name **Republican.** They were in reality a Loose Constructionist party, agreeing with the Federalists and Whigs in favoring protective tariffs, and internal improvements, and especially advocating the principle that Congress had the right to control slavery in the territories. The Democrats, on the other hand, holding Strict Constructionist views, denied the right of Congress to interfere with slavery. On this all-

important question they were in agreement with the Southern Whigs. In the election of 1856 the Democrats succeeded in electing Buchanan President, although the Republicans carried eleven states.

213. The Election of Lincoln. — During Buchanan's administration slavery became the all-important political question. The Dred Scott Decision (see § 151) caused great consternation and excitement in the North, and the people became more and more determined to resist the extension of slavery. The Democratic Nominating Convention of 1860 split into two conventions, through the failure of the Northern and Southern wings of the party to come to an agreement. The Southern delegates held a separate convention, nominating for the presidency John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. They adopted a platform expressing the determination to carry slavery into the territories at any cost. The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln, on a platform declaring Loose Constructionist principles, and the determination to prevent slavery from spreading to the territories. Lincoln was elected, and shortly after, several of the Southern states seceded from the Union, forming the Confederacy. Every free state except New Jersey had voted for the Republican electors. Almost all the Southern states voted for Breckinridge electors.

214. Politics during the Civil War. — President Buchanan, on account of his Strict Constructionist views, took no steps to force the seceded states back into the Union. Meanwhile, these states formed a government called the Confederate States of America. Its constitution was based on the United States Constitution, except that slavery was recognized and protective tariffs prohibited. Members from the seceded states one by one withdrew from Congress, leaving that body with very large Republican majorities. Tariff bills for protection, not merely revenue, were passed, and bills whose purpose was to bring the war to a successful issue became law. Money was raised by issuing "greenbacks," a national paper currency. Later, the National Bank Act was passed, establishing banks

which were to take the place of the state banks. (See § 187.) Both these financial measures resembled the financial policy of the Federalists and Whigs, who had favored the United States Bank. In 1864 the Republicans renominated Lincoln upon a platform declaring war upon slavery. The Democrats declared in their platform that hostilities should cease, thus indicating their belief that the war had been a failure. In all the Union states except three, Republican electors were chosen.

215. Reconstruction. — After the close of the war, the question of the readmission of the Southern states became the most prominent political issue. (See §§ 167 and 168.) The Republicans held the Loose Constructionist view that Congress had the absolute right to determine the conditions upon which the seceded states could be readmitted. The Democrats took the opposite view, holding that the Southern states should immediately be given the full right of self-government. In the election of 1868, the Republicans were entirely successful and Grant was chosen President. For several years later, in fact up to the time of the election of Garfield (1880), the treatment of the Southern states and the enforcement of the last three amendments formed the main issues. The Democrats generally favored lenient measures toward the South and the withdrawal of Federal interference, while the Republicans kept alive the issues of the Civil War, and insisted on maintaining the new rights of the freedmen. The currency and tariff questions also divided the parties.

VI. Recent Political Issues

216. Democrats return to Power. — In the election of 1884 the tariff was the most important political issue. The Republicans favored protection. The Democrats, who had nominated Grover Cleveland, evaded the question of protection, but promised a reduction of tariff duties. They also declared their intention to benefit the laboring classes by legislation controlling corporations. (See § 305.) The Prohibition and Woman's Suffrage parties also made nominations for the presidency.

The National party adopted a platform which denounced monopolies and demanded that money be made more plentiful. The contest was very close, resulting in the election of Cleveland, the first Democratic President since Buchanan.

217. Rise of the People's Party: Currency becomes an Important Issue. — In 1891 the **People's party** (often known as Populists) was organized. It advocated legislation looking to the improvement of the farming and laboring classes, and recommended government control of railroads, telegraphs, etc. "The free and unlimited coinage of silver" for the purpose of increasing the currency was one of its principal doctrines. The election of 1892, however, again turned on the question of protection. The Democrats, favoring a tariff for revenue only, were overwhelmingly successful and elected Cleveland President. In 1896 the currency question became the most prominent issue. The Republicans again declared in favor of protection, but against free coinage of silver except by international agreement. The Democratic platform, on the other hand, declared in favor of the free coinage of silver. The People's party indorsed the Democratic nominee for President, William J. Bryan. Many Democrats, especially in the East, were opposed to the free coinage plank of the Democratic platform and held a separate convention, declaring for a single gold standard of currency. In the election which followed, William McKinley, the Republican nominee, was successful.

218. Expansion becomes an Issue. — The war with Spain, which had occurred during Mr. McKinley's first administration, brought up another question, viz., our treatment of the possessions gained from Spain. The Democratic platform took exception to the so-called "Imperialistic" policy (see § 304) of the Republican administration. Many were opposed to the extension or expansion of United States territory by the acquisition of lands containing inhabitants so different from those of America, and feared that in governing these people without their consent, as in the case of the Philippine Islands, the

United States was violating the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In the election of 1900 the Democrats endeavored to make imperialism the "paramount issue." However, as they renominated Mr. Bryan and reaffirmed the free coinage plank of the platform of 1896, they were overwhelmingly defeated by the Republicans, who reëlected Mr. McKinley. Problems of capital and labor, the currency, the tariff, expansion, or imperialism, as it is called by its opponents, are the prominent political issues of to-day.

PART IV

GROWTH AND PROGRESS

CHAPTER X

Growth in Territory and Population

Causes of Growth and Prosperity 125
Acquisitions of Territory 127
Population of the United States 130
Immigration 134

CHAPTER XI

Progress in Science and the Useful Arts

American Inventiveness. Labor-saving Machinery 139
Heating and Lighting 140
Manufacturing and Agriculture 142
Travel, Transportation, and Communication 144
Warfare 149
Printing 150
Medicine and Surgery 151
Industrial Expositions 152

CHAPTER XII

Progress in Education

Popular Education 155
Education in the Colonial Period 156
Other Means of Education 160
Education in the Republic 162

CHAPTER XIII

Growth of American Literature

Origin and Growth of American Literature 167
The Colonial Period 168
The Revolutionary Period 169
The Birth of American Literature 171
Historians 177

CHAPTER XIV

Problems of To-day and the Near Future

Retrospect and Prospect 179
Arbitration 180
Expansion 180
Great Industrial Problems. Labor Troubles 182
Civil Service Reform. City Government 183
Race Problems 185
The Temperance Question. Woman Suffrage 186

CHAPTER X

GROWTH IN TERRITORY AND POPULATION

Causes of Growth and Prosperity. — 219. One Hundred Years of Progress. 220. Natural Resources. 221. Advantages of Geographical Position. 222. Free Government and Character of the People.

Acquisitions of Territory. — 223. Louisiana Purchase. 224. Florida Purchase. 225. Oregon Boundary. 226. Results of these Acquisitions. 227. Texas-Mexican Cession: Gadsden Purchase. 228. Alaska Purchase. 229. Hawaii. 230. Spanish Cessions.

Population of the United States. — 231. The Census. 232. Growth of Population. 233. Tendency to City Life. 234. Centre of Population: Western Emigration. 235. Some of the Impulses to Western Expansion.

Immigration. — 236. Growth of Population by Immigration. 237. Nationality of Immigrants. 238. Character of Early Immigrants. 239. Later Immigrants. 240. Problems of Immigration.

CHAPTER X

GROWTH IN TERRITORY AND POPULATION

I. Causes of Growth and Prosperity

TABLE OF TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS

DATE	HOW ACQUIRED	SQUARE MILES
1783	Treaty of Paris	827,844
1803	Louisiana Purchase	920,000
1819	Florida Purchase	59,268
1845	Annexation of Texas	371,063
1846	Oregon Treaty	255,000
1848	Mexican Cession	522,568
1853	Gadsden Purchase	45,535
1867	Alaska Purchase	577,390
1898	Annexation of Hawaii	6,449
1899	Spanish Cession { Philippines	114,326
	Spanish Cession { Porto Rico	3,550

219. One Hundred Years of Progress. — In little more than one hundred years from the attainment of independence by the treaty of peace, in 1783, the United States has increased in area to more than four times that included in the boundaries then determined, and its population in the same period has increased about twenty fold. This rapid growth has been due to many causes.

220. Natural Resources. — The natural resources of the new country were very great. The mountainous regions contained vast **mineral** wealth, — gold, silver, and less precious metals in the West; inexhaustible iron mines, rich quarries, and coal

and oil fields in the East. The well-watered Atlantic and Pacific slopes and Great Central Plain had such a variety of climate and such exceptionally good soil as to render possible an abundant **vegetation**. The enormous crops of some of the world's staples, such as wheat, corn, rice, sugar, cotton, tobacco, which these regions have produced show how these possibilities have been realized. Vast forests also covered large areas of the country. Fur-bearing **animals** were plentiful, and great herds of bison roamed the plains. All these were valuable in the earlier history of the country, for food as well as for their hides and fur. The fur trade is no longer very important (except the seal fisheries of Alaska), but the great plains furnish pasture for hundreds of thousands of cattle, which have replaced the now almost extinct bison. The great abundance of fish — cod, shad, salmon, etc. — on the northern Atlantic coast, and of whales still farther north, was another important natural source of wealth.

221. Advantages of Geographical Position. — The United States lacked the magnificent roads which the older civilization of Europe enjoyed; but its rivers afforded many miles of great natural highways which facilitated travel and commerce. Those not so readily navigable furnished cheap power for manufacturing purposes. The irregularity of the Atlantic seaboard afforded numerous fine harbors. There were also a few good natural harbors upon the more regular Pacific coast. These and the position of America gave it unrivalled opportunities for commerce with Europe on the one hand, and Asia and Australia on the other. At the same time the broad expanse of ocean lessened the probability of war with foreign countries making it unnecessary for the United States to suffer the drain upon its resources that a large standing army entails.

222. Free Government and Character of the People. — Hardly less important than the great natural advantages which the country offered for the development of a great nation, were the character of the people who settled the English colonies and the free form of government which they established. The

French and Spanish had had similar opportunities in America, but they failed to improve them. Both were brave and indefatigable explorers, and the French were industrious and successful fur traders, but they did not seem inclined to devote themselves to agriculture. Their colonies did not become independent of France and Spain, but were ruled after the rather despotic fashion of the mother countries, enjoying little civil or religious liberty.

The English colonists, on the contrary, were animated largely by the love of liberty. They cleared the forests, tilled the soil, and established homes. Having comparatively little interference from the mother country, they developed local governments which contained the best features of the English government and secured to them even greater liberties than were enjoyed by other British subjects. When these liberties were threatened, they fought for and gained their independence. With a political wisdom taught them by their early experiences, they framed a form of government in which the Federal and state powers were nicely balanced in a central government sufficiently strong to secure national unity. Sufficient independence, however, was given the states that each might develop in the way best suited to its conditions. Shortly after the new government went into operation, the tide of westward emigration began, and has continued until the present day. This emigration was the principal cause of that national expansion of area which is recorded in the table of purchases and other acquisitions of territory at the beginning of this chapter.

II. Acquisitions of Territory

223. Louisiana Purchase (1803).— The first acquisition of territory — the purchase of Louisiana — doubled the area of the United States. The control of the Mississippi was regarded as so essential to the peace and welfare of the United States that envoys were sent to France to arrange for the purchase of New Orleans, which commanded the entrance to

the great waterway. The envoys found Napoleon very ready to sell the entire province of Louisiana, perhaps because he feared that in his impending war with England the territory would be lost to France. Hence they were able to make an unexpected bargain. Exceeding their instructions, they purchased the whole great domain of Louisiana for $15,000,000. The expedition of Lewis and Clark acquainted the people with some of the wonders and the value of this new territory.

224. Florida Purchase (1819). — Spain governed Florida so poorly that a state of affairs bordering upon anarchy prevailed there. This led to difficulties with adjacent Southern states. Jackson, who was sent to quell the disturbance, exceeded his authority and practically took possession of Florida. Spain being unable to prevent this, and finding Florida such a troublesome possession, agreed to sell it for $5,000,000. Thus another menace to the peace of the United States was removed.

225. Oregon Boundary (1846). — The claims of Great Britain and the United States to the Oregon country overlapped, but did not give rise to trouble until the immigration of settlers rendered decision of the question imperative. Serious trouble was threatened for a time, but fortunately a compromise boundary was settled by treaty. (See §§ 199–201.)

226. Results of these Acquisitions. — The Louisiana and Florida purchases, and the Oregon treaty, not only secured to the United States great areas of new territory, but removed the possibility of dangerous rivalry from France and Spain on American soil, and settled peaceably with a more formidable country — England — a very troublesome boundary question.

227. Texas-Mexican Cession: Gadsden Purchase. — These great territorial acquisitions resulted from the migration of settlers from the United States into the territory of Mexico, known as Texas. Outnumbering the Mexicans and being dissatisfied with the government, they revolted and obtained independence in 1836. Texas applied for admission into the Union in 1837. The question of its annexation became of great political importance, owing to its bearing upon the extension of

slavery. Texas was finally admitted in 1845. Mexico and Texas disagreed upon the question of boundary, and the United States entered into war with Mexico in support of the Texas claim. (See §§ 202–207.) The complete defeat of the Mexicans resulted in a treaty (1848) very advantageous to the United States. The claim of Texas, making the Rio Grande the boundary, was allowed. California and New Mexico were ceded to the United States, and Mexico was paid $15,000,000. An additional $10,000,000 was afterward paid (1853) in further settlement of a boundary dispute with Mexico. This was known as the Gadsden Purchase.

228. Alaska Purchase (1867). — The United States paid Russia $7,200,000 for the Alaskan territory. There was some opposition to the purchase, but it was soon found to be a valuable possession on account of its furs, fisheries, timber, and gold. The recent discovery of gold has led to a boundary dispute with Canada, which is not yet definitely settled.

229. Hawaii (1898). — In 1893 some white residents of Hawaii revolted against the native queen, Liliuokalani. They established a government of their own, and asked for annexation to the United States. The immediate annexation, however, was prevented by the action of President Cleveland. Later, during the progress of the Spanish-American War, the acquisition of the islands was agreed upon by Congress and President McKinley.

230. Spanish Cessions (1899). — The most recent acquisition of territory by the United States was the result of the Spanish-American War. (See §§ 208–212.) By the treaty of Paris, Porto Rico and other Spanish West Indies, and Guam, one of the Ladrones, were ceded to this country. Spain received $20,000,000 for the Philippine archipelago, and it was further agreed that Cuba should undertake self-government under the protection of the United States. Thus Spanish authority was banished from the Western Hemisphere, and the United States undertook the difficult task of establishing order in the colonies which had suffered from Spanish misrule.

III. Population of the United States

CENSUS TABLE

CENSUS	POPULATION	CITIES OVER 8000	CITY LIFE PER CENT	CENTRE OF POPULATION CLOSE TO 39TH PARALLEL	WESTERN MOVEM'T, MILES
1790	3,929,214	6	3.3	Near Baltimore (east of it)	
1800	5,308,483	6	3.9	Near Baltimore (west of it)	41
1810	7,239,881	11	4.9	N.W. of Washington, D.C.	36
1820	9,633,822	13	4.9	Near Woodstock, Va.	50
1830	12,866,020	26	6.7	Near Moorefield, W.Va.	39
1840	17,069,453	44	8.5	Near Clarksburg, W.Va.	55
1850	23,191,876	85	12.5	Near Parkersburg, W.Va.	55
1860	31,443,321	141	16.1	Near Chilicothe, O.	81
1870	38,558,371	226	20.9	Near Cincinnati (east of it)	42
1880	50,155,783	286	22.5	Near Cincinnati (west of it)	58
1890	62,622,250	448	29.2	Near Greensburg, Ind.	48
1900	76,295,220	517	32.4	Near Columbus, Ind.	14

231. The Census. — The Constitution provides (Article I, Section 2, Clause 3) for a taking of the census every ten years. The first census was made in 1790, and the twelfth census has just been taken (1900). Much more information than that given by the mere counting of the number of people is obtained. A great variety of facts, such as the age, sex, color, education, occupation, etc., of each person, are noted by the census taker, as are also many facts concerning the manufactures, commerce, etc., of the country. The Census Bureau is an important government department, and is kept working much of the time during the ten years' interval after each census, arranging and putting in suitable form the information that has been gathered. It has often been suggested that the Census Bureau be made a permanent department, instead of being created every ten years, as at present.

232. Growth of Population. — The table shows clearly that the increase in population of the United States has more than

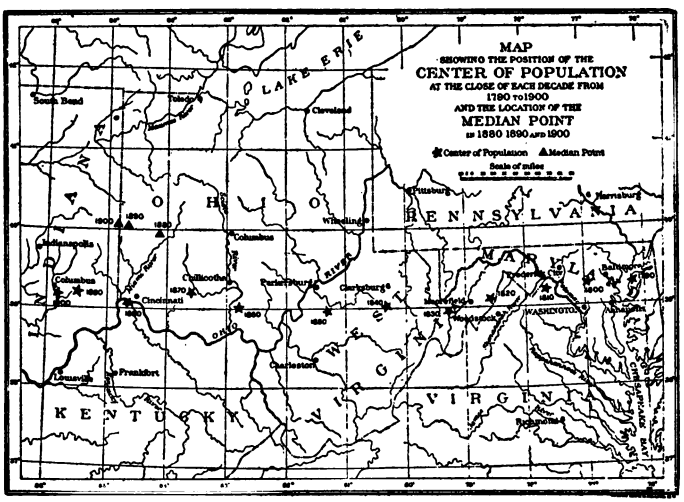
kept pace with its increase in area. While by accessions of territory the country has been enlarged to about four times its original area, the number of inhabitants has grown to about twenty times the number at the close of the Revolution. The population has doubled about every twenty-five years.

233. Tendency to City Life. — In the colonial period the cities held a comparatively small proportion of the population. Southern plantation life did not favor the growth of cities, and even in the New England colonies, where town life was most marked, the country population was very much larger than that of the cities. As manufacturing and commerce developed, however, the urban population increased at a much greater rate than the country population. The census table shows that in 1790 and 1800 there were only six cities having a population of eight thousand or more, and that only a little more than three per cent of the entire population of the country was to be found in its cities, while the census of 1900 shows that there were 517 cities of that size and that 32.4 per cent of the people were living in towns and cities. One of the many causes which helped to bring about this result was the invention of labor-saving agricultural machinery. (See §§ 241–246.) With the aid of modern implements, a comparatively small number of men can operate successfully great farms that would formerly have required very many "hands."

Cities are not evenly distributed over all parts of the country. Manufacturing and commerce are such very important industries in the Northern states that the people find it advantageous to live in great communities. In the North Atlantic states about half, and in the North Central states about a quarter of the inhabitants are city residents. The Western states are rapidly developing their manufacturing and commercial industries. These occupations, together with that of mining, have tended to build up the Western cities at a marvellous rate, and now about one-fourth of the Western people are classed as urban. The Southern states, on the other hand, are devoted principally to agriculture. This does not en-

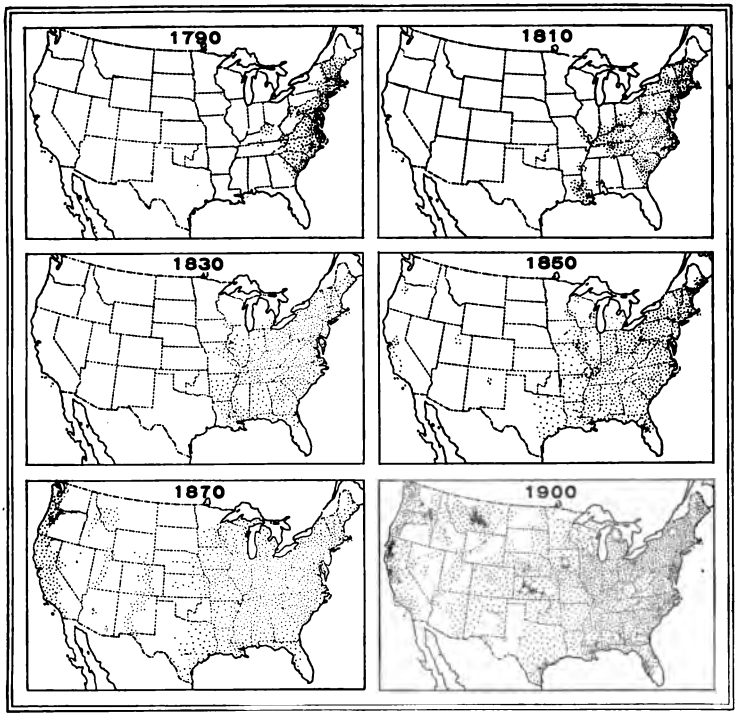
courage the growth of cities, and we find the urban population of the South Atlantic states to be about one-sixth, and that of the South Central states to be only one-tenth of their total number of inhabitants.

234. Centre of Population: Western Emigration. — If we imagine the United States to be a great plane, and each of its inhabitants to be of equal weight, the point at which the plane would have to be supported in order that it might be evenly



balanced is called the centre of population. The centre of population is determined by a very complicated calculation, which is one of the labors of the Census Bureau. The census table shows that the centre of population has been travelling steadily toward the West. This shifting of the centre of population has been due to the rapid settlement of the West by hardy and courageous emigrants from the Eastern states and Europe. Daniel Boone was a great pioneer of this westward movement, leading the way into Kentucky before the Revolution (1769). Later, other emigrants made many settlements in the valley of

the Ohio. Some made their way to the region bordering on the Great Lakes. People of the Southern states emigrated to Mexican territory. This was the first of the long series of events which resulted in the acquisition of Texas. The courage



THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

and enterprise of some of the pioneers carried them all the way to the Pacific, and the occupation of Oregon by both British and American settlers led to the Oregon treaty, by which another vast area became part of the United States.

235. Some of the Impulses to Western Expansion. — This tendency to Western expansion received a great impulse after

the close of the War of 1812. (See § 108.) "The era of good feeling" was at hand, and the country was prosperous. Much attention was bestowed upon internal improvements. Roads and canals were built (the Erie Canal was finished in 1825), and the steamboat (invented in 1807) was to be found upon all the navigable rivers. After 1835 steam railroads began to be employed. These improvements in travel and communication made possible the unprecedented growth of the West.

An exceedingly important event in the history of the West was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. The quick growth of San Francisco and the rapid population of the country (admitted as a state 1850) is a wonderful story of adventure and enterprise.

IV. Immigration

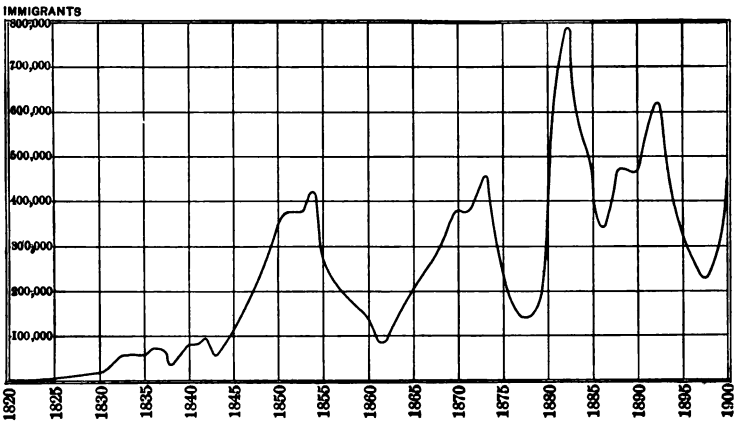
TABLE OF IMMIGRATION

1821–30. . . .	143,439	1861–70. . . .	2,314,824
1831–40. . . .	599,125	1871–80. . . .	2,812,191
1841–50. . . .	1,713,251	1881–90. . . .	5,246,613
1851–60. . . .	2,598,214	1891–1900 . . .	

236. Growth of Population by Immigration. — The great opportunities offered by this country have attracted millions of foreigners to its shores, so that immigration has been a very important factor in the rapid increase of population that has taken place. In the early history of the United States the volume of immigration was not large, but since 1840 it has grown rapidly, that of every decade (except 1861–70, which included the Civil War) surpassing the previous one. The recorded immigration of the last eighty years reached the enormous total of twenty millions.

237. Nationality of Immigrants. — Great Britain and Ireland have contributed about forty per cent of the total immigration to the United States, Germany about thirty per cent,

Norway and Sweden about six per cent. The remainder has been composed principally of people from other countries of Europe, though almost every part of the world is represented. At first Ireland furnished by far the greatest number of immigrants. Later the Germans came in such numbers as to



How the Number of Immigrants has Varied from Year to Year

head the list. Recent years have seen great changes in the character of the immigration. That from Ireland and Germany has decreased while a rapid increase has taken place in the immigration of Swedes, Norwegians, Hungarians, Poles, Russians, and Italians.

238. Character of Early Immigrants. — Until comparatively recent years the tide of immigration furnished in the main a really desirable class of people, who wished to make homes for themselves in this country and become its citizens. Most of them were farmers or skilled laborers. They were thrifty, industrious, and ambitious to make the most of the opportunities offered in the New World, and they contributed in turn to its growth and prosperity. They learned to understand and appreciate the institutions of their adopted country, and became loyal and useful citizens. Their tendency was to settle

in the West. Hence we find the Western states having a large proportion (about one-quarter) of their total population foreign born. In some districts this proportion is very great, North Dakota, for example, having about forty-five per cent, or nearly half, of its population of foreign birth. The South, on the other hand, has been called the home of the native American, because of its freedom from the admixture of the foreign element.

FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS (FROM LIFE)

IRISH SWEDE GERMAN ITALIAN RUSSIAN CHINAMAN

From Sheldon's "Studies in American History"

239. Later Immigrants. — In proportion as immigration increased in quantity, it decreased in quality. Instead of thrifty farmers and industrious and skilled artisans, thousands of unskilled laborers, to say nothing of the pauper and criminal classes, sought the shores of the United States. These did not push to the West, but as a rule remained in the great cities, adding a very undesirable and even dangerous element to the nation's population.

240. Problems of Immigration. — Owing to the change in the character of the immigration, the problem of its restriction and regulation has arisen. The flocking of Chinese to the Pacific states led to the passage of Chinese Exclusion Laws. The importation of cheap labor from abroad under contract to

American employers has resulted in the passage by Congress of a Contract Labor Law, prohibiting the practice. Paupers and criminals, so far as possible, are sent back to the country from which they came. It is thought by many that the immigration laws should be stricter than they are, that some educational qualification, for example, should be demanded of all immigrants, and that all who do not intend to become citizens should be excluded. The framing of wise immigration laws and their proper enforcement are questions not easily solved. The public schools accomplish a great deal toward making the children of foreign descent good citizens of the country adopted by their parents. The study of United States history helps to acquaint them with the nature and spirit of our republican institutions. The exclusive use of the English language in our public schools furnishes an important bond of union for the diverse nationalities which constitute so large a part of our population.

CHAPTER XI

PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND THE USEFUL ARTS

American Enterprise and Inventiveness. — 241. Patents.

Labor-saving Machinery. — 242. Steam, Electricity, Factories, Division of Labor.

Heating. — 243. Open Fireplace, Franklin Stove, Hot-air Furnace, Gas Range, Wood, Coal, Hot Water, Steam, Electricity.

Lighting. — 244. Open Fireplace, Candles, Whale Oil, Flint and Tinder, Matches, Gas, Petroleum, Electricity.

Manufacturing. — 245. Hand Work of Colonial Days. Steam and Electrical Machinery of To-day.

Agriculture. — 246. Hand Farming and Crude Implements of Colonial Days, Improved Machinery of To-day — Whitney's Cotton Gin, McCormick's Reaping Machine, Grain Elevator, Canning and Preserving, Hothouse Cultivation, Cold Storage.

Travel and Transportation. — 247. Horseback, Stage Coach, Canal Boat, Sailing Vessels of Colonial Days. Locomotive, Trolley, Bicycle, Automobile, Steamship, Aerial Navigation of To-day.

Communication. — 248. Slow Mails, Special Couriers of Colonial Days. Fast Postal Service, Telegraph, Submarine Cable, Telephone, Wireless Telegraphy of To-day.

Warfare. — 249. Primitive Weapons, Wooden Battleships of Colonial Days. Improved Guns, Ammunition, Steel-clad Battleships of To-day.

Printing. — 250. Hand Press of Colonial Days. Improved Steam Press of To-day. Cheapening of Literature.

Medicine and Surgery. — 251. Primitive Methods of Colonial Times: Bleeding. Modern Improvements and Discoveries: Anæsthetics, Antiseptics, X-rays.

Industrial Expositions. — 252. Centennial Exposition, 1876; Columbian Exposition, 1893; Pan-American Exposition, 1901.

CHAPTER XI

PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND THE USEFUL ARTS

241. American Enterprise and Inventiveness. — One of the most striking characteristics of the American people is "inventiveness." Not only has the American mind been fertile in devising new methods and instruments, it has also been quick to adopt and improve upon the inventions of other nations. We live to-day in a world of conveniences, of which the people of a hundred years ago could form no conception. There have been various causes for this marvellous change in addition to the enterprise and ingenuity of Americans. In the new country there were immense resources which had to be developed. The original settlers of the Atlantic coast, and later those who pushed across the Alleghanies, had to make their roads and houses, and build their cities. They were thus thrown on their own resources. "Necessity is the mother of invention."

Later, when the Constitution was adopted, Congress gave a great impetus to discovery and invention by securing to the inventors themselves the profits of their labors. "**Patents** are issued by the Patent Office at Washington, giving the inventor of any new and useful machine, instrument, manufacture, or composition of matter, or any new and useful improvement of them, the monopoly in their manufacture and sale for the term of seventeen years." More than half a million patents have been granted within the last sixty years, and the number issued per year is constantly increasing.

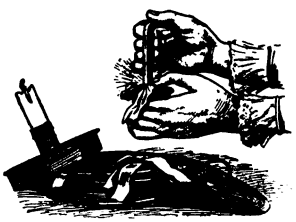
242. Labor-saving Machinery. — The most important result of this inventive activity has been the substitution of

machinery run by **steam** or **electricity** for manual labor. Such machinery enables one man to accomplish the work of hundreds of hand laborers. This machine work is conducted upon an extensive scale, and has given rise to **factories**, employing thousands of men. **Division of labor** is thus rendered possible, and the work is done more economically. This lessens the cost of the articles manufactured, thus bringing them within the reach of the poorer classes. The laboring man of to-day enjoys luxuries which were not obtainable even by the rich of colonial days. We will obtain a clearer idea of this progress by comparing some of the methods and instruments of colonial days with those of to-day.

243. Heating. — In colonial days, stoves were rarely or never seen. The Franklin stove, invented by Benjamin Franklin, was one of the earliest. In most houses there was a large open fireplace, which, while it was cheerful and picturesque, was really an unsatisfactory means of heating. Cooking was performed over these fireplaces. Wood was used almost exclusively for fuel. Later, soft and hard coal were used, the latter, known as anthracite, having been discovered in Pennsylvania in 1790. The first load was brought to Philadelphia in 1803. For a while it was considered too hard to burn, but it has since become our principal article of fuel. The houses of to-day show great improvements in means of heating. Modern improved stoves, burning coal, have taken the place of the old fireplace, though the latter is sometimes used for its quaint and picturesque effect. Many houses are heated by furnaces, placed in the basement, sending hot air through asbestos-covered pipes to all parts of the building. The cooking is no longer done by means of stoves, which also heat the house, but separate cooking-stoves or ranges have been invented. The modern ones contain ovens and other convenient appurtenances, such as boilers supplying hot water to various parts of the house. Oil and gas are largely used to-day for both heating and cooking, as they are found to be economical and satisfactory. Large buildings, such as schools, churches

and theatres are generally heated by steam or hot water, circulated in pipes through the various parts of the building. Electricity has also been used recently for heating purposes, particularly in electrically propelled or trolley cars. Electrical cooking ranges are employed in some large establishments.

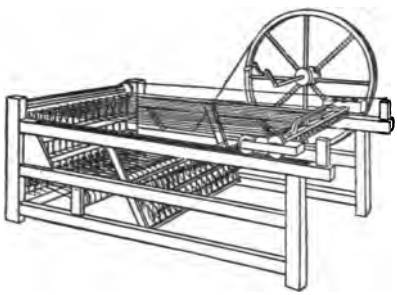
244. Lighting. — When we consider that gas and electricity — our two chief means of lighting to-day — were unknown in colonial days, we can easily imagine how dark the streets and houses must have been at night. The blazing logs in the open fireplace supplied most of the light on winter nights. Candles, and lamps burning whale oil, were also used. There were no matches, and fire was obtained by striking flint against steel, and igniting some combustible material with the spark. The petroleum oils, which are so largely used to-day for lighting, heating, and oiling machinery, were unknown in colonial days. Petroleum was discovered in 1856, in northwest Pennsylvania. Numerous wells have since been opened in Pennsylvania and neighboring states, so that the output of oil to-day amounts to thousands of barrels daily. The manufacture and use of gas was a European discovery, but it rapidly became a popular necessity in America, where it was introduced early in the nineteenth century. Modern improvements, such as portable gas lamps, incandescent burners, etc., have added greatly to its value. Many old people living to-day can remember the time before gas lamps were used to light the streets, while the men and women of the next generation will probably find it hard to remember street gas lamps, so completely has electricity taken the place of gas for street illumination. There have been such wonderful improvements in the employment of electricity for illuminating purposes that the electric light to-day is fast becoming universal. The arc lights are generally used in streets or large



TINDER BOX, FLINT, AND STEEL

halls, while the smaller and softer incandescent lights are employed in houses, railway cars, ocean steamships, etc.

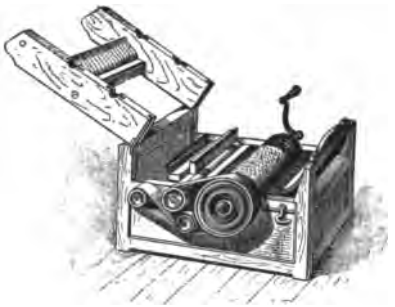
245. Manufacturing. — The use of steam and electricity as motive power may be said to have revolutionized all forms of manufacturing. In colonial days **spinning and weaving** were done by hand. The people wore clothes made of stout home-spun material, and the spinning-wheel was a necessary article in every household. Spinning and sewing were important feminine accomplishments. To-day spinning and weaving are performed by machinery, steam or electricity supplying the power. Large mills have been built which give employment to hundreds of "hands." These improvements began as early as 1764 with the invention of Hargreave's **spinning-jenny**. In colonial days **sewing** was done entirely by hand. So greatly have the sewing-machines (invented by Elias Howe in 1845) been improved and cheapened, that to-day almost every household contains one. In factories, sewing-machines are driven by steam or electric motors.



HARGREAVE'S SPINNING JENNY

246. Agriculture. — Farming has also been greatly improved by numerous inventions. In colonial days agriculture was a laborious occupation. The farming implements were rough and clumsy. Iron being scarce, they were, for the most part, made of wood. Wooden ploughs, e.g., covered by plates of iron were used. Raking, sowing, reaping, gathering, and threshing were all done by hand. Extensive farming, such as is now carried on in the Central and Western states, would have been impossible under those primitive conditions. One of the earliest and most important inventions was **Whitney's cotton gin** (1793). Previous to this invention there had been

but little cotton raised in the South, as no practicable method had been devised for separating the cotton wool or fibre from the seeds. So much labor was required for this operation that cotton was a very expensive article used only by the rich. By means of Whitney's invention, one man was enabled to do what before would have required a thousand. Cotton-growing immediately became a most important industry of the South. Many cotton mills were established in the North, and our export trade increased.



WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN
After the original model

Some ten years before this, the **grain elevator** had been invented and various improvements were made in milling flour. One of the most important agricultural inventions made in America was **McCormick's reaping machine**, patented in 1834. It was operated by horse power, and marked a great improvement over the laborious methods of reaping previously employed. It was improved later so that in addition to reaping, it also bound the grain in sheaves. Its influence has been felt especially in the West, where it has made possible farming on a most extensive scale. Great changes have also been wrought through the invention of numerous harrowing, sowing, baling machines, first driven by horse power and more recently by steam. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between the hand farming of colonial days and the machine farming of to-day. The farmer in 1800 ploughed his land with wooden ploughs, sowed the grain broadcast by hand, and when it was ripe cut it with a scythe and threshed it on the barn floor with a flail. The enormous crops of to-day have been made possible by agricultural machinery.

By the invention of **canning and preserving processes**, the husbandman's market has been greatly enlarged. He has, moreover, learned how to create an artificial climate under glass and to grow vegetables and fruits all winter. **Cold storage** keeps over for the winter the summer's surplus, and renders practicable the transportation of many perishable products over great distances.

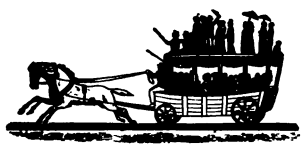
247. Travel and Transportation. — If we imagine what would be our condition to-day without the use of steam and electricity and machine-made vehicles and vessels, we can form a pretty accurate picture of conditions a hundred years ago. Travel was slow and dangerous. The horse was of the greatest service, whether carrying a rider or pulling a coach. The roads were poor, and horseback was the best mode of travel. Outside of the towns but few wheeled wagons were seen. To go from New York to Philadelphia in three days was considered fast travelling. Travelling by water was particularly uncertain, since steamboats were unknown, and the variable wind was the only power which could be used. Sailing vessels were frequently wrecked by storms or seriously delayed by unfavorable winds. The trip across the Atlantic Ocean required as many weeks as it now takes days. In 1807 the first **steamboat** was successfully operated by **Robert Fulton**. The *Clermont*, as it was named, steamed up the Hudson as far as Albany, to the wonder and terror of the people along its banks. This invention completely revolutionized water travel.

THE "CLERMONT"
From Rergart's "Life of Fulton"

Shortly after Fulton's successful experiment, numerous steamships plied the principal rivers and the lakes, and thus encouraged the further settlement of the West. The first steamship to cross the ocean was the *Savannah*, which in 1819 started from Georgia. Great improvements have been made in steamships since that day, Ericsson's invention of the **screw**

propeller being one of the most important. The passenger vessels of to-day may be fittingly called floating palaces, so great are their conveniences and luxuries. They make the trip to Europe in a little over five days, and it is possible that the time will be further shortened in the near future. Iron has largely superseded wood in the construction of vessels. After the battle of the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*, during the Civil War, war vessels were protected by iron, and now most large passenger and freight ships are made of iron or steel.

Travelling on land has been completely transformed by the use of steam and electricity. The **steam locomotive** was invented in England, and was at first a very crude affair, running at the rate of about ten miles an hour. Meanwhile experiments were being made in America, and in 1828 Charles Carroll of Maryland broke ground for the first passenger railroad in America, from Baltimore west. The first train ran over the road in 1830. In the course of the next ten years nearly three thousand miles of railroad were built in the different states. To-day there are nearly two hundred thousand miles of railroads in the United States, carrying each year a billion tons of freight and five hundred and fifty millions of passengers. The growth of railroads was a more powerful influence than the steamboat in developing the West. Numerous improvements have been made, so that to-day a very high rate of speed, sometimes as much as seventy miles an hour, has been reached by the handsomely equipped passenger trains. For street and suburban traffic electricity has lately been extensively used. The modern well-furnished, brilliantly lighted **trolley car** in our principal cities seems to approach the ideal of smooth, clean, and comfortable travelling. The twentieth century will probably witness electricity superseding steam for passenger and freight transportation.



BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD, 1830

From an old print

Among recent popular means of travel may be mentioned the **bicycle** and **automobile**. The former is extensively used as a means of healthful and pleasurable exercise, and also as a business convenience. The automobile is a recent invention in which electricity or other motive power is employed instead of horses for vehicles of all kinds. It will undoubtedly be improved and cheapened, and may in the course of time entirely supplant the horse.

The building of **canals** has also served to facilitate commerce and develop the resources of the country. They furnish a

MAP OF THE ERIE CANAL

cheap mode of transportation, especially for bulky goods of a non-perishable nature, as canal traffic is comparatively slow. The first great canal projected in this country was the Erie Canal, which was completed in 1825, connecting Buffalo and Albany, and thus furnishing a water outlet from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic by way of the Hudson River. Great quantities of grain are carried to the East and various manufactures to the West by means of this canal. Thus all sections of the country profit by it. Numerous other canals have been constructed in various parts of the United States. Millions of

dollars have been spent by a French company in the attempt to construct a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, and the construction of a similar canal across Nicaragua by the United States has recently been strongly agitated.

The inventive mind of Americans as well as of Europeans has also been turned seriously to the problem of **aerial navigation**. Balloons have long been in use, and are frequently employed for making observations in warfare. The construction of an airship which can be guided safely and with certainty is a problem of great difficulty, which to-day seems far from accomplishment. There is no telling, however, what may be done in this direction.

248. Communication. — Being without the means of rapid travel employed to-day, the people of colonial times suffered great inconvenience from the slowness and uncertainty of communication. The lumbering **stage coaches** brought news some days or weeks after the events had occurred. In urgent cases **couriers** were employed to take messages, but as many days were consumed for the delivery of such messages as it now takes hours or even minutes. News from abroad was, of course, delayed by the slowness of the sailing vessels. The great battle of New Orleans in the War of 1812 was fought after peace was actually declared, because the news could not be sent quickly enough to the generals of the opposing armies. **Mails** in the colonial days were slow and expensive. Consequently comparatively few letters were written, and the postage was generally not prepaid. The railroad and steamboat have changed all this. For two cents, a letter carried by the fastest trains or vessels will now be delivered to any part of the United States.

AN OLD TIME STAGE COACH

Even more important for communication than the rail-

road and steamship have been the electrical inventions, the **telegraph** and **telephone**. In 1844 Professor S. F. B. Morse, having received an appropriation of $30,000 from Congress, established the first system of telegraph wires, from Baltimore to Washington. The first message sent was, "What hath God wrought!"—an appropriate Biblical quotation, for what could have seemed more miraculous than that a message should be sent a distance of forty miles in a few seconds? By 1860 there were one hundred thousand miles of line in operation in the world, and in 1900, one million miles. About one million messages are sent by wire every day in the year.

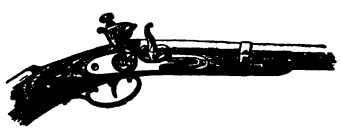
As early as 1843 Morse had said that telegraphic communication across the Atlantic Ocean was possible. His prediction was fulfilled in 1858. Cyrus Field deserves the credit for the success of the venture. The cable operated successfully for a few weeks, and then stopped. Field was not discouraged by this failure, but in 1866 succeeded in laying a **submarine cable** from the United States to Ireland by way of Newfoundland, by which permanent communication was established between Europe and America. Since then many other cables have been successfully laid, bringing all parts of the world in closer contact and harmony. There are now almost two hundred thousand miles of submarine cable, and the number of messages sent is nearly six million a year.

By means of these telegraphic inventions we receive news of the important events from all parts of the world very shortly after their occurrence. How the world is benefited by means of these improvements, can be shown by a single instance. When some time ago a horrible famine existed in far-away Russia, the news was telegraphed and cabled to various parts of the world. In a short time fast-going steamships were hurriedly crossing the Atlantic, carrying for the relief of the stricken people large cargoes of grain raised by farming machinery in the West, and transported by railroads to the ocean ports. A hundred years ago the famine-stricken people might have starved before even the news of their condition had reached distant countries.

A recent and wonderful invention is the method of telegraphy without the use of wires. It is still in the experimental stage, but competent authorities assert that this means of communication may be expected to take the place of both land and submarine wires. **Wireless telegraphy** enables moving ships to communicate with each other and with the land.

Another form of communication which, except for great distances, is more valuable than the telegraph, is the **telephone**, invented by Bell. By means of this instrument conversations can be held between persons hundreds of miles distant. All large modern cities have extensive telephone systems. Many business offices and homes are furnished with telephones. So thoroughly accustomed have we become to these electrical conveniences that it is hard for us to imagine how people ever got along without them.

249. Warfare. Wonderful improvements have also been made since colonial days in instruments and methods of warfare. In early days iron breastplates and helmets were worn.



FLINT-LOCK

MATCH-LOCK

The first guns were heavy and clumsy **match-locks**, so called because a long slow-match was carried with which to ignite the powder. Their weight was so great that they could not be held in the ordinary way and had to be rested on forked sticks. These guns were succeeded by **flint-locks**, in which sparks were made by flint striking steel. Since that time great changes have taken place. Self-cocking and repeating guns and revolvers, rapid-fire cannon of immense range and terrible destructive power, bullets of high penetrating power, lyddite shells and smokeless powder, have largely revolutionized modern warfare.

In naval equipment the progress has been still more marvellous. The old **wooden sailing vessels**, armed with short-range smooth-bore cannon, have been superseded by **iron-clad steam battleships**, monitors, and torpedo boats employing **rapid-fire guns** with **smokeless powder**, which send shells with terrific penetrating power to great distances. War vessels are also equipped with powerful search-lights.

The United States army and navy have grown greatly, especially in recent years. The army in 1800 comprised 4118 men and 318 officers. At the head of the organization was a brigadier general. To-day our army consists of 100,000 men. In 1800 the navy of the United States comprised 17 frigates, 3 brigs, and 2 schooners, without counting 8 revenue cutters which were heavily armed. The two largest frigates, *United States* and *Constitution*, each carried 42 guns. One of our unprotected cruisers of to-day could have sunk this primitive navy in a short time.

THE "CONSTITUTION"
Launched in 1797; now in the Boston Navy Yard

250. Printing. — The art of printing has been practically revolutionized since colonial days. The **hand-press** of early days has been superseded by the **steam-press** invented by Hoe. The consequent decrease in the price of books brings them within the reach of all. The opportunity for reading thus afforded has been of the greatest advantage to the world, since books are the principal means of education and enlightenment for the masses. (See § 274.) To-day there is scarcely a household too poor to own its little library. Not only is the printing itself done more cheaply, but lithographic, photo-chemical, and

other processes of illustration have made books beautiful as well as interesting and instructive. Books for children, neatly bound and beautifully illustrated in colors, are now plentiful and cheap, whereas a hundred years ago they would have been an expensive luxury possible only to the wealthy. The binding as well as the press work is now done by machinery.

FRANKLIN PRINTING PRESS
In the custody of the Smithsonian Institution

The greatest advance in modern methods of printing is seen in the **newspapers** of to-day. Newspapers of sixteen or more pages can be bought for a cent or two. These papers contain the most important news of the world together with much other entertaining and instructive matter. It is interesting to watch the process of making a great modern newspaper. The type is set, the paper is cut, printed, folded, fastened, counted, and wrapped in bundles, all by ingenious machinery.

251. Medicine and Surgery. — When we consider the methods employed by physicians and surgeons in the colonial and even later times, we should feel grateful that we enjoy the benefits of the wonderful progress of medical science. Perhaps the greatest boon to humanity in this field was the discovery of **anæsthetics** by Dr. W. T. G. Morton of Boston, in 1846. He found that artificial sleep could be induced by certain gases, making the patient insensible to the pain of surgical operations. Prior to this discovery patients who had to be operated upon suffered the most terrible agony, while death from shock was very frequent. To-day, even such a trivial operation as having a tooth extracted is rendered painless by the inhalation of nitrous oxide gas. For more serious operations, ether is now generally employed. Bleeding was formerly employed as a universal remedy, often with fatal re-

sults, as is said to have been the case with Washington. To-day it is seldom used, being considered unwise and dangerous.

Pathology, or the science of diseases, has been revolutionized by the discovery that most diseases are caused by **germs** or **microbes**. The causes of contagion and infection being more perfectly understood, diseases are more easily prevented as well as cured, and epidemics are frequently averted. Many diseases which were considered incurable are now successfully treated by modern methods. **Antiseptics** which prevent putrefaction and blood-poisoning have also been discovered and render surgical operations much safer than they were formerly. The discovery of the **Roentgen** or **X-rays** has been of inestimable service to surgery.

COURT OF HONOR, COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

252. Industrial Expositions. — There have been various expositions and fairs, which have shown the progress of the sciences and arts. The three most important held in this country were the **Centennial Exposition** at Philadelphia in 1876, the **Columbian Exposition** at Chicago in 1893, and the **Pan-American** at Buffalo in 1901. The Philadelphia Exposition showed how completely steam machinery had taken the place of the hand labor of Washington's day, and suggested the beginning of the era of electricity. The wonderful progress which the latter has made was shown at the Chicago Exposition. We seem to be living in an electrical age. Although this

mysterious force is so extensively used to-day, new applications of it are constantly being made. Electricity will possibly accomplish more changes in the twentieth century than steam did in the nineteenth. The Pan-American Exposition was a representative exhibit of the commercial, industrial, and educational progress of the entire Western continent.

These industrial expositions accelerate the march of progress by educating the millions of people who visit them, showing them what has been accomplished and stimulating them to further thought and activity. Furthermore, the different sections of a country, and, in fact, the different nations of the world, acquire a fuller knowledge of each other's progress in the arts and sciences. This knowledge in itself tends to produce a greater harmony in their commercial and hence in their political interests.

CHAPTER XII

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

Popular Education. — 253. Popular Education in the United States and Other Nations. 254. Relation to General Progress.

Education in the Colonial Period. — 255. Differences in the Colonies as regards Education. 256. Early Education in New England. 257. Higher Education. 258. Grammar Schools and Seminaries. 259. Early Education in the Middle Colonies. 260. Early Education in the South. 261. Character of the Elementary Education. 262. Influence of the Little Red Schoolhouse. 263. Character of the Higher Education.

Other Means of Education in the Colonial Period. — 264. Experience. 265. Newspapers. 266. Books. 267. Sermons.

Education in the Republic. — 268. Effect of Independence. 269. Establishment of the Public School System. 270. Labors of Great Leaders. 271. Growth of the Public School System. 272. Improvements of the System. 273. Higher Education. 274. Other Means of Education. 275. Summary.

CHAPTER XII

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

	Money spent Per Capita for		Proportion for War
	Army	Education	
United States	$.39[1]	$1.35	1 to 4
Austria	1.36	.62	2 to 1
Prussia	2.04	.50	4 to 1
France	4.00	.70	5 to 1
England	3.72	.62	6 to 1
Russia	2.04	.03	68 to 1

I. Popular Education

253. Popular Education in the United States and Other Nations. — That popular education receives very great attention in the United States at the present day is shown by a comparison of the relative expenditures of money for that purpose by the United States and other great nations. The above table shows that the United States is far ahead of the other nations in the provision that it makes for education.

254. Relation to General Progress. — The great advance that the United States has made, however, has been from such humble beginnings that the story of its progress in education is just as remarkable as that of its growth in territory and population, and of its progress in the sciences and useful arts. One has kept pace with the other. In fact, these several lines of progress are so interwoven and interdependent that

[1] Based on appropriation before Spanish War.

one could not well have been made without the other. Really permanent material growth and prosperity depend largely upon a far-sighted devotion to education, and as the country grows in wealth, it in turn provides more liberally for public education.

II. Education in the Colonial Period

255. Differences in the Colonies in Regard to Education. — Although the struggle for existence in the early part of the colonial period was often very severe, yet many of the colonists appreciated so highly the necessity and advantages of education that they made strenuous efforts to provide schools and render education as nearly universal as possible. There were great differences in the attention given to education in the several groups of colonies. Democratic New England made by far the greatest and most successful efforts to establish schools and promote free public education. In aristocratic Virginia there was opposition to the idea of public education. The Middle colonies encouraged education, but it did not secure there the generous support that it was given by the Puritans.

256. Early Education in New England. — Hardly had the Puritans built their homes and founded their churches before they sought to establish schools. They regarded it as the duty of the government to contribute to the education of its future citizens. As early as 1647 laws were passed requiring every town to establish a free school, and every town of one hundred families a grammar school. Compulsory education laws, requiring the attendance of all children of school age, were passed in every colony except Rhode Island. The crudely built log schoolhouses became a prominent feature of the New England landscape.

257. Higher Education. — Not only did the Puritans establish a free public school system, but they also founded the first institution for higher education in the country. In 1636 money was voted to found a college at Cambridge, which was

afterward (1638) named **Harvard College**, in honor of Rev. John Harvard, who bequeathed his library and half his estate to the college. The respect for learning felt by the people of New England was at one time shown by almost every family contributing something toward the support of the college. **Yale College** had an even more humble beginning than Harvard. Two ministers made the first contribution — a number of books — in 1700. It was formally founded in 1701 at Saybrook, Connecticut, being afterward removed to New Haven.

HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
After a picture entitled "A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England" in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

258. Grammar Schools and Seminaries. — There were schools intermediate between the common schools and colleges, where young men were prepared for entrance into college. They were known as grammar schools and seminaries, and were generally conducted by ministers.

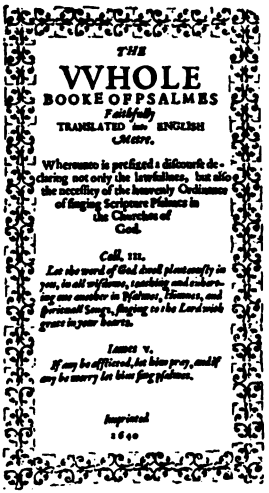
259. Early Education in the Middle Colonies. — The **Dutch** of New Netherland seemed almost as eager as the Puritans to secure education for their children, and established some free schools (the first in 1633). Unfortunately these schools were not encouraged by the English when New Netherland

came under their rule. The **Quakers** of Pennsylvania were active in the cause of education, establishing free schools and academies. The **University of Pennsylvania** (1745) at Philadelphia, founded largely through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, **Princeton College** (1746) in New Jersey, and **Columbia College** (1754) in New York were results of early attempts to provide higher education, and are now to be numbered among the greatest colleges and universities in the country. They were supported almost entirely by private means and endowments. In the Middle colonies there was, in fact, very little public money devoted to education. Even the elementary schools, which were rather numerous, were for the most part private schools.

260. Early Education in the South. — Public education was neglected more in the South than in any other part of the country. It was actually opposed by Governor Berkeley of Virginia, who wrote, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing." Education was regarded as the duty of the family, and not a matter to be undertaken by the government. Tutors were employed by the planters to educate their children, or children were sent abroad for that purpose. Yet some people battled against these ideas, and a few free schools were established. Higher education, however, was not neglected. **William and Mary College** (1693), the second oldest college in America, was, before the Revolution, one of the most important institutions of learning in the country.

261. Character of the Elementary Education. — The difficulties under which education was carried on were numerous. Although many schoolhouses dotted the country, a large number of the pupils had long distances to go, often through sections of a country without roads and beset with many dangers. The **schoolhouse** itself was generally but a one-room log cabin furnished with rough boards for seats and desks. Both pens and ink were home-made. Maps, charts, libraries, and other helpful apparatus so familiar to the modern schoolboy were entirely absent, but the all-important symbol of the peda-

gogue's office — the birch rod or stout hickory stick — was always conspicuously present and was frequently employed. The **text-books** were the primer and spelling-book, badly printed. The pictures which some of them contained seem to-day like absurd caricatures. Hymn books and catechisms were often utilized, not only for religious instruction, but also as a means for the teaching of reading, spelling, etc. The **teachers** were poorly paid. Many were not very learned, some were intemperate. The best of them taught school only temporarily, to support themselves while they prepared for some other more profitable work or profession. **The three R's** — Readin', 'Ritin', and 'Rithmetic—were the subjects taught, — the barest rudiments of an education. The girls generally received even less instruction than the boys. Needle work was regarded as better for them than writing. In some localities the boys went to school in winter and the girls in summer. **The discipline** was harsh and even brutal. The continual flogging was bad enough, but other cruel and degrading forms of punishment were employed.


THE
WHOLE
BOOKE OFPSALMES
Faithfully
TRANSLATED into ENGLISH
Metre.
Wherunto is prefixed a discourse de-
claring not only the lawfulness, but also
the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance
of singing Scripture Psalmes in
the Churches of
God.
Coll. III.
Let the word of God dwell plentifully in
you, in all wisdome, teaching and exhor-
ting one another in Psalmes, Himmes, and
Spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with
grace in your hearts.
James V.
If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if
any be merry let him sing Psalmes.
Imprinted
1640

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN AMERICA

262. Influence of the Little Red Schoolhouse. — Yet in spite of all the defects of this early education, the "little red schoolhouse" (many were painted that color) became deservedly famous for its work in educating the children of the colonists. It kept alive the spirit of education, and paved the way for the development of the great free public school system of which the United States is to-day so justly proud.

263. Character of the Higher Education. — The higher education of colonial days was also very simple and crude as

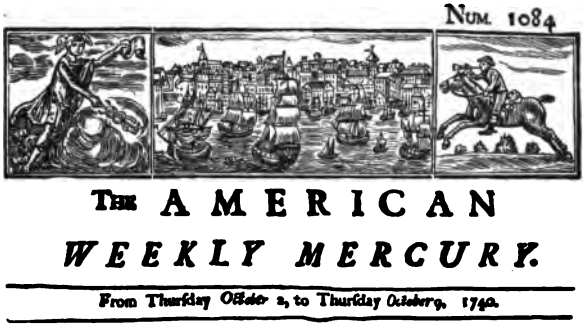
compared with that of to-day. A grammar school meant a school for Latin and Greek grammar, which were taught to the neglect of the mother tongue. In fact, little else than Latin, Greek, and mathematics was taught at all. The seminaries were boarding schools, each containing but a few pupils. The fare was poor and coarse, the discipline brutal. The colleges were small affairs as compared with the great institutions of to-day. The average age of their pupils was nearer that of the pupils of the modern grammar or high school. The course of instruction usually included little besides the dead languages and mathematics. Nevertheless, these institutions were the fruitful beginnings of the great system of preparatory schools, colleges, and universities that now offer such splendid opportunities for higher education in every part of the United States.

III. Other Means of Education in the Colonial Period

264. Experience. — School and college do not afford the only means by which people are educated. The whole of one's surroundings, everything one sees and does, helps or hinders his education. "Experience is the best teacher." The very difficulties the colonists had to overcome, the hardships they had to endure to secure an education, and the hard struggle for life in the early period developed their characters, making them frugal, thrifty, industrious, fearless, and self-reliant, and implanting that spirit of independence which sustained them in their rebellion against oppression.

265. Newspapers. — The press is to-day one of the great educational forces of the world. The colonists did not have a newspaper until 1700, and at the beginning of the Revolution there were only thirty-seven in circulation. Most of these were published in the New England and the Middle states, New England having fourteen, and New York and Pennsylvania together thirteen papers. They bore little resemblance to the great papers of to-day. They were little sheets, poorly printed.

and from a modern standpoint absurdly illustrated. As they had few facilities for getting information from different parts of the country, their news was principally local. They would sometimes publish letters received by the townspeople from friends abroad or in other colonies. These letters were long and contained matters that are seldom found in a modern let-



Reduced Facsimile of the Heading of an Early Issue of the First Newspaper in Philadelphia

ter, since the daily newspaper supplies such information in more than abundant measure.

266. Books. — Few books were written and published in the colonies, and not very many were brought from abroad. The best of the colleges had only what would now be regarded as insignificant libraries. The books to be found in the homes were largely theological works. (See §§ 278, 279.) Benjamin Franklin's "Poor Richard's Almanac" was full of a homely wit and practical wisdom well suited to the conditions of a people struggling to establish themselves in a new world.

267. Sermons. — The clergy, especially those of New England, formed an educated class. They were held in great respect by every one on account of their learning and profession. The Sunday sermon, two, three, or even more hours in length, gave the people subject for thought, and was an educational influence of no mean importance.

IV. Education in the Republic

268. Effect of Independence. — The attainment of independence aroused a new interest in education. The instruction of its children was felt to be a patriotic duty that each state owed to the republic. The early fathers of the nation believed this strongly, and exerted great influence for the cause. Washington said, "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is necessary that public opinion be enlightened." Jefferson combated the aristocratic ideas of Governor Berkeley, and introduced a bill into the General Assembly of Virginia for the establishment of schools "for the free training of all free children, male or female." Benjamin Franklin expressed his belief as follows, "A Bible and a newspaper in every house, a free school in every district, all studied and appreciated as they merit, are the principal supports of Virtue, Morality and Civil Liberty."

269. Establishment of the Public School System. — The people in general were willing to put in practice these wise suggestions for universal education, but it proved to be a matter beset with difficulties. How to raise the money was one important question, on which all did not agree. What religion, if any, should be taught in the schools, was another problem. At first only poor children received free education. The public schools then suffered from being called "Pauper Schools." Though the free common schools of the New England and the Middle colonies furnished the beginnings, there was a period of fifty years (1790–1840) of struggle for free and universal education before a truly great and extensive system of free public schools became firmly established.

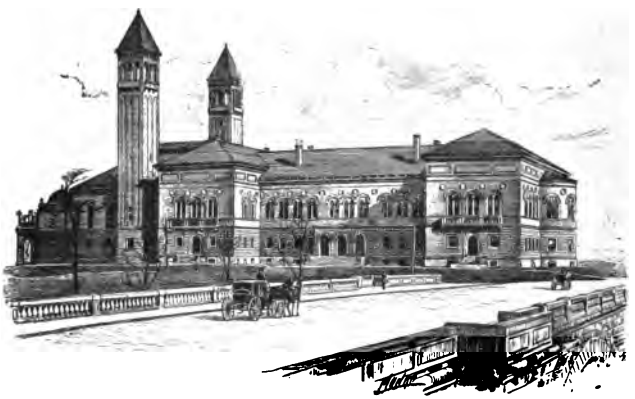
270. Labors of Great Leaders. — **Horace Mann** of Massachusetts and **Thaddeus Stevens** of Pennsylvania labored zealously in the cause of the free public schools, and were not only successful in the practical work of organizing the school systems of their own states, but also in arousing great interest in public education throughout the country.

271. Growth of the Public School System. — The latter half of the nineteenth century saw a wonderful extension and improvement of the free public school system. The Federal government encouraged education by grants of land (See § 108). Nearly eighty million acres of public lands have been thus devoted to education. Western emigrants carried Eastern ideas of education with them, and the schools of the West compare favorably to-day with any in the country. Little progress was made in the South until after the Civil War. Much attention is now being devoted to the problem of educating the negro population of the Southern states. Census returns for schools give some idea of the growth of the public school system. Public schools enroll in all about fifteen million pupils or nearly one-fifth of the entire population of the United States. Nearly half a million teachers are employed, and the expenses for the maintenance of the system amount to nearly $200,000,000 annually.

272. Improvement of the System. — The public school system has not only grown in extent, but the greatest improvement has taken place in the character of the education afforded. A few little backwoods schools exist that remind one of the primitive schools of our forefathers; but even in poor country districts we find well-built schools with good desks, books, maps, and other needful apparatus, while the schoolhouses of the great cities are marvels of fine architecture, well lighted, heated, and ventilated. They are furnished with everything that will help to make study interesting and fruitful. **Teaching** has become a profession, for which young men and women prepare by special study, just as lawyers and physicians prepare for their work. The instruction is thus in the hands of competent persons, and is as much superior to that of colonial times as is the modern school building to its little forerunner of that period. Corporal punishment has been largely abolished; in some places by legislation, in others by custom. To the "three R's" of the log schoolhouse, other subjects have been gradually added until the modern course of

study also embraces history, geography, nature study, science lessons, music, and drawing. Attention is given to the pupil's body as well as to his mind by means of manual training and physical exercises.

273. Higher Education. — High schools, manual training schools, and **normal schools** have become important features of the public school system, and those of to-day are far superior even to the colleges of the past. **Colleges** and **universities** have shared in the general advance in educational work. At present there are one or more in every state in the Union,



CARNEGIE LIBRARY, PITTSBURG, PA.

nearly five hundred in all. They have about one hundred and fifty thousand students, about thirty thousand of whom are preparing for professional life in legal, medical, and theological schools.

274. Other Means of Education. — Just as schools and colleges have improved, so have other agencies which contribute to the education of the people. The daily **newspaper** brings to the home an account of the events in all parts of the world. Enormous quantities of **books** of all sorts are printed, so that reading matter may be cheaply purchased. Great **free libraries**, some founded by the generosity of rich philanthropists, such

as Andrew Carnegie, others supported by public taxation, are important influences for popular education. Even small towns boast of their free libraries. **Travelling libraries** have also been successfully employed.

Public lectures by distinguished scientists, writers, and travellers have always been popular, and have contributed not a little to the education of the people. In some places, notably in New England, this kind of public education became a well-developed lyceum system. **University extension** is a development of the lyceum plan. Universities now give courses of afternoon and evening lectures at various local centres, and direct to some extent the collateral reading of their auditors. Effective work has been done in this way, and the movement is a growing one. A still more recent plan for popular adult instruction is that of giving **free evening lectures** in the schoolhouses, the system being under the control of boards of public education.

The **Sunday school** is another educative influence that has been growing in importance. The Sunday schools of to-day have nearly as large an enrollment as the public schools.

275. Summary. — The great public school system, embracing elementary (primary and grammar) and high schools, the colleges and universities, free libraries, church and Sunday schools, university extension and other popular systems, afford such splendid opportunities for both child and adult that a high grade of intelligence characterizes the American people. Moreover, the daily newspapers offer such valuable daily instruction that the poorest workingman may be well informed on the questions of the day, and able to think for himself and intelligently exercise the right of suffrage as a citizen of the great republic.

CHAPTER XIII

GROWTH OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

Origin and Growth of American Literature. — 276. Progress in Literature. 277. American Literature is English. 278. The First Printing Press.

The Colonial Period (1607–1765). — 279. Character of Colonial Writings. 280. Colonial Writers.

The Revolutionary Period (1765–1812). — 281. Character of the Period. 282. Thomas Paine. 283. Thomas Jefferson. 284. *The Federalist.* 285. Other Writers.

The Birth of American Literature. — 286. Change beginning in Monroe's Administration. 287. Washington Irving. 288. James Fenimore Cooper. 289. William Cullen Bryant. 290. John Greenleaf Whittier. 291. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. 292. Oliver Wendell Holmes. 293. Nathaniel Hawthorne. 294. Edgar Allan Poe. 295. Harriet Beecher Stowe. 296. Ralph Waldo Emerson. 297. James Russell Lowell.

The Historians. — 298. William Hickling Prescott. 299. George Bancroft. 300. John Lothrop Motley. 301. Francis Parkman.

CHAPTER XIII

GROWTH OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

I. Origin and Growth of American Literature

276. Progress in Literature. — The growth of the nation in population and its progress in education, science, and art has been accompanied by an important development in literature. Starting with practically no literature whatever, the United States now ranks prominently among the literary countries of the world. Its leading writers, poets, historians, and novelists have gained recognition and are now widely read in Europe as well as on this side of the ocean. Literary progress has been encouraged by the granting of **copyrights** to authors which give them the exclusive right to the publication of their works for a considerable period of years. This power was wisely granted to Congress by the Constitution, and it has been productive of excellent results. Agreements have been made within recent years between the United States and the leading nations of the world, enabling an author to copyright his works in any of these countries. It took years of agitation to secure this **international copyright** (1891), and its effect upon the growth of literature has been marked.

277. American Literature is English. — We have seen in a previous chapter how England became supreme in America; how, in other words, English ideas and traditions were to become prominent factors in American civilization, and especially that the English language was to be the language of the people. How thoroughly this last effect has been produced is very evident to-day. English is the language of our courts, schools, churches, newspapers, and books. This language with its

power and beauty of expression is, next to our love of freedom, our richest and dearest inheritance from England. No greater hope could have inspired the minds of the founders of this continent than that our literature should be a continuation of the literature of England. England has produced some of the greatest dramatists, poets, and novelists that the world has ever known. America can justly be proud that her literature employs a language which has been so effectively used by Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Byron, Scott, and Thackeray.

278. The First Printing Press. — The first printing press in America was established at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1639. The following year (1640) the first book ever printed in America was published. It was entitled the "Bay Psalm Book." Although this work in itself was of little literary value, consisting of psalms in very poor verse, nevertheless a start had been made. Many other books were subsequently printed, and the number has steadily increased until to-day, with the invention of the improved steam press, thousands of volumes are printed daily, and their cost has been much reduced.

II. The Colonial Period (1607-1765)

279. Character of Colonial Writings. — During the first century of English settlement in America, there was little time for literature. Cities were to be built, roads cut through the wilderness, and the Indians were an ever present source of disturbance. A certain amount of tranquillity and peace of mind is necessary for the growth of art or literature, and these factors are always absent in a new country beset with savage tribes. The people were too busy for reading, much less for writing. Hence during the colonial period there were but few books. These were chiefly written by ministers, who were about the only persons who had time or inclination for such matters. In thinking of American literature we seldom include this period, and the books of the time may be said to have mainly an historical interest for the student of literature.

As almost all the American settlers came to this country on account of religious persecution, it was natural that most of their books should be of a religious, or rather theological, character. "Between the years 1706 and 1718 all the publications known to have been printed in America number at least five hundred and fifty. Of these all but eighty-four were on religious topics, and of the eighty-four, forty-nine were almanacs." These almanacs were conspicuous in most households of colonial days, and were regarded as indispensable. They contained information upon the crops, weather, and roads. "Poor Richard's Almanac" was one of the most famous, and contained, in addition to the usual almanac information, many proverbs which have become familiar, such as: "God helps them that help themselves," "Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise." The publication of the almanac was begun by Benjamin Franklin in 1732, and the work became very popular; its maxims have been circulated wherever the English language is spoken.

280. Colonial Writers. — The three most prominent literary men of the colonial period were **Cotton Mather** (1663–1728), a very learned Puritan clergyman who wrote over four hundred books on religious subjects; **Jonathan Edwards** (1703–58), also a theological writer of great reasoning powers, his principal work being "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will"; and **Benjamin Franklin** (1706–90). His "Autobiography" is his principal literary work. All his writings are characterized by homely wit and wisdom. His scientific writings and discoveries also attracted wide attention. He originated the Philadelphia Library, the University of Pennsylvania, and the American Philosophical Society.

III. The Revolutionary Period (1765–1812)

281. Character of the Period. — From the time of the first resistance of the colonists to the rule of Great Britain, up to the establishment of the independent government, in other words during the time that thoughts of liberty stirred

the hearts and minds of the American people, the literature — if it can be called such — took a decided change. During the colonial period the writings were mostly theological and argumentative; in the Revolutionary period they were mainly political and passionate. They began with the fiery speeches of orators like Patrick Henry and James Otis, and ended during the formation and discussion of the Constitution with the carefully prepared political papers of men like Hamilton and Madison. The Revolution thus produced many great orators and statesmen who have left remarkable writings and state letters. The principal orators of the time were Samuel Adams, James Otis, Josiah Quincy, and Patrick Henry. Many of their speeches have become familiar, and we can easily imagine how their eloquent delivery must have stirred the feelings of the people during those exciting times.

282. Thomas Paine (1737–1809). — Thomas Paine was an important character of the Revolutionary period on account of the effect produced by his political writings. He attempted to justify the principles which were afterwards fought for in the French Revolution, and urged the colonists to achieve complete independence. In "**The Crisis**," which Washington in 1776 ordered to be read to all the troops, and which did much to inspire and encourage them, these stirring words are found: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

283. Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). — Thomas Jefferson deserves a large place in the history of American writers, if not in the history of American literature, on account of his authorship of the Declaration of Independence, one of the greatest political documents ever written.

284. The Federalist. — *The Federalist* was the name given to a series of papers written by **Alexander Hamilton**, **John Jay**, and **James Madison**. Its object was to convince the people of New York of the excellence of the Constitution and

to urge them to ratify it. Fiske says of *The Federalist* that it is "undoubtedly the most profound and suggestive treatise on government that has ever been written." Hamilton is deserving of the greatest credit for this work, as he originated it and was its largest contributor.

285. Other Writers. — During this period there were other political writers, the most important of whom were Fisher Ames, John Marshall, and William Wirt. The Revolution also produced some poets, notably John Trumbull, Joel Barloe, and Philip Freneau. They wrote patriotic verses and ballads glorifying the deeds of the Americans, and often directed the weapons of satire and ridicule against the Tories.

IV. The Birth of American Literature

286. Change beginning in Monroe's Administration. — After the country had settled down from the exciting times of the Revolutionary struggle, and the War of 1812 had assured national stability, people had leisure for scientific and literary pursuits. The nation had passed through its period of weakness, and had taken its place in the family of nations of the world. Times of peace are always encouraging to the arts of peace, — science, fine arts, literature, — and so we find an array of authors, beginning with Washington Irving, who have made it possible to speak of a real American literature. The **theology** of the colonial period and the **politics** of the Revolutionary period were succeeded by the **literature** of the newly established republic. A very few only of the large list of names which deserve a place in the history of American literature can be here considered, and of these but very brief accounts can be given. Every student should become familiar with the works of our greatest authors, not by reading mere accounts of them, but by reading the books themselves.

287. Washington Irving (1783–1859). — Washington Irving has been called the "Father of American Literature." His writings, through their undeniable literary value, were the first to become famous in Europe. Up to this time people in Eng-

land had scorned the idea of any great literary work emanating from America. Irving's style was at once elegant, clear, smooth, and characterized by a delightful humor. His "Sketch Book," containing the well-known stories "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," should be read by every person who wishes to be entertained and amused by masterful description, genuine emotion, and clean, pure humor. Among his best-known works are "Knickerbocker's History of New York," a delightfully comic history of the early Dutch settlers of New Netherland, "Wolfert's Roost," a collection of stories; and a number of biographical and historical works, the most important of these being, "Life of Columbus," "Conquest of Granada," "Alhambra," and "Life of Washington."

288. James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851). — James Fenimore Cooper was the first great American novelist. He has been called the "American Scott," as his tales bear some resemblance to the works of the famous author of the "Waverley" novels. His writings are principally tales of adventure, the scenes being laid in American forests or upon the sea. Cooper spent his early years on the frontier, and thus learned by actual experience and association the kind of life which he has so well portrayed in his novels. His first successful work was "The Spy," the story of which was based upon an incident of the American Revolution. This book was highly praised in England and France, so that it may properly be said that he was the second writer to show to the world that we were to have a literature of our own. Shortly after "The Spy," Cooper published a series of books known as the "Leather Stocking Tales," dealing with life in the wilderness and giving a vivid description of the Indians. Natty Bumpo (Leather Stocking) is the hero of the stories, and his adventures are narrated in an interesting manner in "The Deerslayer," "The Last of the Mohicans," "The Pathfinder," "The Pioneers," and "The Prairie." Cooper may be said to have originated the sea story. All who have written sea stories since have merely imitated him. His principal works of this descrip-

tion are "The Pilot," John Paul Jones being the title character, "The Red Rover," and "The Water Witch." These books will be interesting so long as boys are boys and exciting adventures graphically described have the power to hold the attention.

289. William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878). — William Cullen Bryant was our first great poet. On account of his love of nature and beautiful descriptions of natural scenery, he has been called the "American Wordsworth." He was essentially a poet of nature, and the subjects which he describes most picturesquely are American landscapes and scenery. One of his most famous poems, "Thanatopsis," is in blank, *i.e.* unrhymed verse, and deals with the subject of death. This poem is the more worthy of our admiration and wonder when we consider that Bryant was a lad of but seventeen when he wrote it. He later published a scholarly translation of Homer's great epics, the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." The poems in which his love of nature is most manifest are "To a Waterfowl," "Green River," "The Death of the Flowers," and "The Evening Wind." The first stanzas of his lines "To a Waterfowl" well show his power of descriptive imagery: —

"Whither, midst falling dew,
While glow the heavens with the last steps of day,
Far through their rosy depths dost thou pursue
Thy solitary way?

"Vainly the fowler's eye
Might mark thy distant flight to do thee wrong,
As, darkly painted on the crimson sky,
Thy figure floats along.

"Seek'st thou the plashy brink
Of weedy lake or marge of river wide,
Or where the rocking billows rise and sink
On the chafed ocean side?"

290. John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–92). — John Greenleaf Whittier is sometimes known as New England's Quaker Poet.

Although he had not so thorough an education as some of our other writers, his poems breathe a spirit of sincerity, and their sentiments are lofty and noble. He was a great lover of freedom, and was prominently connected with the anti-slavery movement in the North. His poems did much to stir up the masses against slavery, and contributed largely to bring about the final emancipation of the slave. Like Bryant, Whittier was also a lover of nature, and some of his poems are masterpieces of description of New England scenery. Next to Longfellow, he is our most popular poet. Some of his poems are "Barbara Freitchie," "Voices of Freedom," "To William Lloyd Garrison," "Skipper Ireson's Ride," "Snow Bound," and "Barefoot Boy." The opening lines of the last-named poem give a good example of his sincere and hearty style: —

"Blessings on thee, little man,
Barefoot boy with cheek of tan,
With thy turned up pantaloons
And thy merry whistled tunes;
With thy red lip redder still
Kissed by strawberries on the hill;
With the sunshine on thy face
Through thy torn brim's jaunty grace:
From my heart I give thee joy,
I was once a barefoot boy."

291. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82). — Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote a few prose works, but he is principally known, admired, and loved on account of his poetry. He is the most popular and widely read poet of America. His writings show the effect of foreign travel and study, but many of them are so clear and simple that even children can understand and enjoy them. The first collection of poems which he published was entitled "Voices of the Night." It contained some of his most popular verses, "The Psalm of Life," "The Reaper and the Flowers," "Footsteps of Angels," and "The Beleaguered City." Somewhat later was published a volume containing the beautiful poem entitled

"The Building of the Ship," closing with the following magnificent lines: —

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of state!
Sail on, O union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

"Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea,
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee, — are all with thee!"

"Tales of a Wayside Inn" was the title of another famous book of verse. Its best-known poems are "Paul Revere's Ride" and "King Olaf." "Evangeline," a beautiful poetical story of the expulsion of the Acadians; "Hiawatha," the epic of the red race of America; and "The Courtship of Miles Standish," a romance of New England colonial days, give beautiful and interesting descriptions of the people and times to which they relate.

292. Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–94). — Oliver Wendell Holmes was both a poet and a prose writer. Most of his writings contain a delicate humor, and are replete with bright and original thoughts. His best-known prose works are "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," "Professor at the Breakfast Table," and "Poet at the Breakfast Table." The first of these is deservedly the most famous. Two novels "Elsie Venner" and "The Guardian Angel," are both stories of a weird character. Holmes's best known poems are "The Chambered Nautilus," "The Deacon's Masterpiece," and "The Last Leaf."

293. Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64). — Nathaniel Hawthorne has been styled the "greatest imaginative writer since Shakespeare." He is probably the most artistic writer that America has yet produced. He wrote numerous short stories.

Some are fanciful and weird, and deal with events and scenes of colonial times. Many contain impressive moral lessons, *e.g.* "The Great Stone Face." The collections of short stories are entitled "Twice-told Tales," "Mosses from an Old Manse," "Snow Image," "Wonder Book," and "Tanglewood Tales." The latter two contain interesting stories for children. Hawthorne's principal novels are "The Scarlet Letter," one of the greatest novels ever written, "House of the Seven Gables," and "The Marble Faun."

294. Edgar Allan Poe (1809–49). — Edgar Allan Poe was the author of numerous prose stories and poems. The subjects of his writings are generally weird. He has been compared with Hawthorne, as they both were very imaginative; but all of Hawthorne's works had moral applications which Poe's commonly lacked. Poe's poetry is charmingly written, the versification being musical and euphonious. "The Raven" and "The Bells" are his two best poems.

295. Harriet Beecher Stowe (1812–98). — Harriet Beecher Stowe helped with a novel to bring about what Whittier's poems also partly accomplished, viz., the abolition of slavery. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" will be remembered as long as the Civil War is mentioned in history. It is one of the most popular novels ever written, and became famous in Europe as well as in America.

296. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82). — Ralph Waldo Emerson was a great thinker, poet, and essayist. His writings are profound, and show great learning and power of original thought. Some of his principal works are "Nature," a philosophical and theological study; "Representative Men," "Conduct of Life," "Society and Solitude."

297. James Russell Lowell (1819–91). — James Russell Lowell was prominent as critic, essayist, and poet. His prose writings show great literary skill and judgment. Two of his best-known poems are the "Ode to Freedom" and "The Commemoration Ode." The most important works of Lowell are "The Vision of Sir Launfal;" "The Biglow Papers," a

humorous satire written in Yankee dialect; and the "Fable for Critics," which is a critical satire on American poets. The following beautiful lines upon Abraham Lincoln are from "The Commemoration Ode:" —

> " . . . Standing like a tower,
> Our children shall behold his fame,
> The kindly, earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
> Sagacious, patient, dreading praise not blame,
> New birth of our new soil, the first American."

V. Historians

298. William Hickling Prescott (1796–1859). — William Hickling Prescott was one of our greatest historians. He dealt with Spanish subjects in such an interesting way that his works are as entertaining as romance. His principal works are "Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," "Conquest of Mexico," and "Conquest of Peru."

299. George Bancroft (1800–91). — George Bancroft is famous for his "History of the United States." While not so interesting as Prescott's work, it is one of the most scholarly and authoritative histories ever written.

300. John Lothrop Motley (1814–77). — John Lothrop Motley is considered by some as the greatest of American historians. His writings deal with the history of the Netherlands. They are graphic and scholarly. His principal works are entitled "The Rise and Fall of the Dutch Republic" and "The History of the United Netherlands."

301. Francis Parkman (1823–93). — Francis Parkman is one of the most brilliant and vivid historians. He chose for his subject the French in America. The title of his series of histories is "France and England in North America, a Series of Historical Narratives." Some of the volumes of this work are "The Jesuits in North America," "La Salle, or the Discovery of the Great West," and "Montcalm and Wolfe."

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY AND OF THE NEAR FUTURE

Retrospect and Prospect. — 302.
Arbitration. — 303. Hague Peace Conference — Recent Wars.
Expansion. — 304. Recent Acquisition of Territory — Imperialism.
Great Industrial Problems. — 305. Trusts, Monopolies, Socialism.
Labor Troubles. — 306. Labor Unions, Strikes, Arbitration.
Civil Service Reform. — 307. Rotation in Office — Competitive Examinations.
City Government. — 308. National and City Politics — City Ownership.
Race Problems. — 309. The Negroes — Right of Suffrage — Education — The Indians — Chinese.
The Temperance Question. — 310. Prohibition — Education.
Woman Suffrage. — 311.

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY AND OF THE NEAR FUTURE

302. Retrospect and Prospect. — We have seen how the United States of America has, from very small beginnings, developed into the powerful nation of to-day. The principal European nations of four hundred years ago all took active part in the exploration and colonization of the New World. The struggle for supremacy among these nations at last narrowed down to a contest between the English and the French, which was finally settled by the battle of Quebec (1759). (See §§ 52–58.) England became supreme, *i.e.* the English language and traditions were henceforth to dominate North America. Meanwhile an independent spirit had been growing among the English colonists. This spirit and the idea of union were encouraged by the intercolonial wars, and finally led to complete separation from England (1776) and the establishment of a republican government (1789). The success of the new nation was assured by the "Second War for Independence" (the War of 1812). Meanwhile, in spite of several serious foreign complications, and a great civil war which threatened the integrity of the nation, the United States has grown in area and population; popular education has been extended; an important literature developed; and marvellous progress has been made in science and the useful arts. Many of the difficult problems which the nation had to face have been satisfactorily settled, *e.g.* slavery. There remain many questions, however, which are to-day pressing for solution, and upon which there are various and conflicting opinions. These questions require careful study in order that they may be dealt with fairly, honestly, and wisely.

303. Arbitration. — One of the great questions in which the whole world, as well as the United States, is interested is the substitution of the method of arbitration for that of war in the settlement of disputes between nations. The settlement of the Oregon boundary, the Alabama claims, and the Bering Sea controversy are notable instances in the history of our own country of the benefits of this method. The whole Christian world tends to look upon war as a revolting and barbarous spectacle. It is argued that, as individuals no longer use brute force to settle disputes, but appeal to law and reason, nations should act likewise. A permanent tribunal to which all matters in dispute could be referred for settlement has been suggested. At the suggestion of the Czar of Russia, an important beginning was made, in May, 1899, at the Hague, where representatives from all the great powers of the world met in a congress known as the "Hague Peace Conference." Numerous suggestions were made tending to lessen the horrors of warfare and to encourage arbitration. It was found impracticable, however, to bring about the much wished for condition of universal peace. Nevertheless, the mere holding of such a convention marked a great advance in national morality, and inspired the hope that in some not too distant future the immense sums devoted to actual or prospective slaughter of our fellow-men may be more wisely used in encouraging the arts of peace. It was unfortunate that the South African War and the trouble between China and the Powers should have occurred so soon after the Peace Conference. These wars disclosed such a sharp contrast between the peace professions of the nations and their actual practice, that they shook the confidence of many in the possibility of substituting arbitration for war, and tended to bring the Hague Conference into ridicule. The United States, by virtue of its geographical position and freedom from foreign entanglements, has been able to exert a great influence in favor of arbitration.

304. Expansion. — The Spanish-American War has made expansion one of the greatest questions to-day before the

parts; the three former favored while the latter denounced the bill, which finally (September, 1850) became a law. California, under the Compromise, was admitted to the Union, Sept. 9, 1850.[1]

247. The Fugitive Slave Law; Personal Liberty Laws; Death of President Taylor. — The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law aroused the deepest excitement in the North. According to the provisions of this law, United States officers on the oath of an owner or his agent could seize a colored person anywhere and turn him or her over to the claimant. Even years of residence in a free state gave the negro no rights whatever. As soon as the law was enacted thousands of negroes, therefore, fled across the border into Canada. The slave could give no testimony and could not demand trial by jury, while heavy penalties could be inflicted on any one assisting a slave to escape. The attempts of the officers to arrest runaway slaves provoked the bitterest feelings in many northern cities.[2] In some places the captured slaves were rescued

[1] A treaty between the United States and Great Britain went into effect July 4, 1850. It was called the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, Clayton being Secretary of State and Bulwer British minister at Washington. In its leading features the treaty provided that neither country should exercise any authority over any state of Central America nor any exclusive control over any ship canal that might be built, nor should any fortifications be erected controlling the canal.

A convention signed Nov. 18, 1901, by the United States and Great Britain "provided for a complete abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and assured to the United States the sole right to construct and maintain" the canal across the isthmus.

[2] In Boston (1851) a negro named Shadrach was taken from the courthouse by a body of negroes and dispatched to Canada. In Syracuse a fugitive slave named McHenry was arrested. An alarm bell

305. Great Industrial Problems. — During the last few years great changes have taken place in the methods of conducting business enterprises. Large combinations of capital are formed for the purpose of controlling the manufacture and sale of important products. These combinations, known as **trusts**, are able to administer business affairs more economically than the great number of small concerns which they replace. Just as the invention of machinery has benefited the world by cheapening goods, so improved business methods might be expected to produce a similar result. Unfortunately, many of the so-called trusts have endeavored to secure monopolies and to use their power to raise prices instead of lowering them, thus benefiting the few in control at the expense of the multitude who are forced to purchase their products. This undoubted evil has caused a widespread fear of the power of trusts, and created great opposition to such combinations of capital. Many state legislatures have framed laws for the purpose of limiting the power of trusts or of preventing their formation. The question of the regulation of trusts by the national government has become an important one. Many think that the government should exercise a very strict control over trusts, while others believe that such control is neither possible nor desirable. They regard such combinations when honestly conducted as legitimate forms of business enterprise.

The question is a perplexing one. Some are of the opinion that ordinary legislation cannot solve the problem, but that a number of large business or industrial enterprises, especially those called "**natural monopolies**," such as telegraphs, railroads, telephones, gas, and water supply, should not be private enterprises at all, but should be owned and operated by the government itself.

There are some who would carry the principle of government ownership to an extreme, making it embrace many other forms of business enterprise. Those who advocate this principle are known as **socialists**. In some sections of the country these ideas have become quite prevalent, becoming

political issues or even giving rise to distinct political parties.

306. Labor Troubles. — Just as capitalists have found it to their advantage to form combinations, so the laboring classes have also formed unions for the protection of their interests. The industrial world is thus divided into classes, often spoken of as labor and capital, though each is dependent upon the other. The **labor unions** have frequently made demands upon their employers for higher wages, shorter hours, etc. These demands coming from large organizations of laborers, sometimes numbering thousands of members, frequently have sufficient weight with the capitalists to lead them to accede to the demands. When the demands are not acceded to, **strikes** are apt to result, causing great business inconvenience. Sometimes the strikers resort to violence in order to intimidate their employers, or to prevent other workmen from taking their places. It has been necessary, on some occasions, for troops to be called out to quell such disturbances. It is unfortunate that capital and labor should be regarded as naturally antagonistic, as this view hinders the amicable adjustment of difficulties between them. On account of the great annoyance and riotous conduct attendant on strikes, many are of the opinion that labor unions should be discouraged. It is thought by others, however, that the laboring classes are much in need of such organizations for their own protection. **Boards of arbitration** have been proposed to mediate between laborers and employers in case of disagreement. Socialism has also been suggested as a remedy.

307. Civil Service Reform. — The government finds it necessary to employ a great many persons to carry on its work. With the exception of those who serve in the army and navy, these officials, clerks, etc., constitute the civil service. When Jefferson entered office, his political friends clamored for positions in the civil service. Jefferson was of the opinion that it was neither just nor in his power to remove office-holders to make places for others, except for incompetency or neglect of duty.

He depended upon the creation of vacancies through death or resignation; but, as he tersely said in speaking of the office-holders, "Few die and none resign." It was not until Jackson's administration that a wholesale discharge of United States officials took place. He instituted the practice known as "**rotation in office**," displacing his political opponents to create places for his political friends. The same justification was urged for this method as had been given by the ancient Romans when they sacked a conquered town, "To the victors belong the spoils." Political positions thus came to be regarded as rewards for political work, and it became the custom with every change of administration to turn out incumbents to make places for the party workers. In opposition to the spoils system, it is believed by many that the government's business affairs should be conducted in a business-like manner. Faithful and competent servants should be retained, regardless of their political opinions; while incompetent persons should not be appointed to positions. Moreover, it is argued that the frequent changes make the service both inefficient and expensive. Again it is contended that the rewarding of party service by appointment to government positions is only a form of bribery. The various attempts that have been made to remedy these evils are known as civil service reform. The first great step in this direction was made in 1883, when an act was passed by Congress making appointments to certain positions dependent upon the results of **competitive examinations**. A commission was appointed to supervise this work. Those who believe in civil service reform have endeavored to increase as much as possible the list of offices to be thus filled. They have been opposed by those politicians who fear a loss of power through such interference with their power of distributing positions.

308. City Government. — As the United States has grown in population, there has been an increasing tendency to the massing of large numbers of people in great cities. (See § 233.) A number of cities have populations of over a million. This condition has given rise to many difficult problems in

government. The tendency has been for national politics to determine the election of city officers. It is generally admitted that **city government should be entirely disentangled from national politics**, since the proper regulation of city affairs has little or nothing to do with the issues which divide the great parties. The political management of city affairs has often resulted in inefficient, extravagant, and corrupt administration. It is maintained that the questions which city authorities have to decide are very different from those which face the state or nation. They are simply business problems on a large scale, and should be dealt with in a business-like manner; *e.g.* the streets must be kept clean and lighted, transportation facilities furnished, schools built and maintained, good water supply secured, police regulations enforced, etc. The use of the spoils system in city government — since the latter is in effect a business corporation — has been attended with great evils. Private corporations sometimes secure from city officials valuable franchises, such as gas and water supply, street railways, etc., through corrupt political means. **City ownership** has been suggested as a remedy for these evils. Others, however, maintain that under our present political administration of city affairs such municipal control would only multiply the evils it is meant to cure. Some city charters have been drawn up which hope to get the cities under good business management by the creation of a few great departments, the heads of which can be held strictly responsible.

309. Race Problems. — Since the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the treatment of the **negroes** of the South has been a most serious problem. In some sections of the South the colored inhabitants outnumber the whites, and the latter have feared that legislation might be controlled by the negroes. This fear has increased the hatred caused by natural race prejudice and the events of the Civil War. Race riots have sometimes occurred, and the negroes have frequently been subjected to inhuman treatment. Bribery and intimidation have prevented the negro

from freely exercising the **right of suffrage**. This has been justified on the grounds that the negro is too ignorant to vote intelligently. Attempts have been made in some states recently to debar the illiterate negro by law from voting by demanding certain educational qualifications. Such restriction of the ballot would be at the risk of a reduction in the state's representation in Congress, in proportion to the number of votes thus excluded. (See Amendment XIV, Section 2.) **Education** of the negro is the remedy most frequently advanced for the solution of this important problem. The treatment of the **Indians** (see § 135) and **Chinese** are two other race problems which are not as yet quite satisfactorily settled.

310. The Temperance Question. — The evils of intemperance have been so great that many favor the **prohibition** of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors. Others, on the contrary, regard such legislation as directly opposed to personal liberty and as impossible of enforcement. They consider this work as not the business of the government at all, but an end to be attained rather by moral **education**. They look to the growing influence of religious and temperance societies, temperance literature, and temperance instruction in the public schools to bring about the desired result. Nevertheless, the Prohibitionists are numerous enough to have formed a political party, which nominates national, state, and city officers. They have succeeded in securing prohibition legislation in some states.

311. Woman Suffrage. — Women have greater privileges in the United States than in any other part of the world. For many years there have been societies organized for the purpose of securing for women the right of suffrage. The experiment has actually been made in some of the Western states, but opinion is still divided as to its wisdom.

APPENDICES

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

(1) We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

(2) All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

(3) The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

(4) No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

(5) Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned

among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

(6) When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

(7) The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

(8) The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

(9) Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if

vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

(10) No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

(11) The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

(12) The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

(13) The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

(14) Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

(15) The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

(16) The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year,

and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

(17) Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

(18) Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

(19) Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

(20) Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

(21) The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

(22) No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased

during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

(23) All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

(24) Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

(25) Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

(26) The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

(27) To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

(28) To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

(29) To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

(30) To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

(31) To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

(32) To establish post-offices and post-roads;

(33) To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

(34) To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

(35) To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations;

(36) To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

(37) To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

(38) To provide and maintain a navy;

(39) To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

(40) To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

(41) To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining

the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

(42) To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

(43) To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

(44) The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

(45) The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

(46) No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

(47) No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

(48) No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.][1]

(57) The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

(58) No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

(59) In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or the President shall be elected.

(60) The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

(61) Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

[1] This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the amendments.

SECTION II.

(62) The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

(63) He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

(64) The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

(65) He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take

care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

(66) The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

(67) The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

(68) The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

(69) In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a

party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

(70) The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

(71) Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

(72) The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

(73) Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

(74) The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

(75) A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another

State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

(76) No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

(77) New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

(78) The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

(79) The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

(80) The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for pro-

posing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

(81) All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

(82) This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

(83) The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

(84) The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE — John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS — Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT — William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK — Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY — William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA — Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE — George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND — James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA — John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA — William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA — John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA — William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

(85) Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

(86) A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

(87) No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

(88) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

(89) No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or

naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

(90) In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

(91) In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

(92) Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

(93) The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

(94) The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

(95) The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

(96) The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation

from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

(97) The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

(98) SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

(99) SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

(100) SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty,

or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

(101) SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

(102) SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

(103) SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or eman-

cipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

(104) SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

(105) SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

(106) SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

NOTES TO THE TEACHER.

1. The figures in bold-faced type in the Analyses refer to paragraphs of the Constitution.

2. The light-faced figures that follow questions, refer to pages in Dole's The American Citizen.

3. Additional sources of information and suggestions are found in:

   a. Wilson's State and Federal Governments of the United States. Cloth, 50 cents. [Contains the historical development of our government, a comparison of State constitutions, and an analysis of the national Constitution.]

   b. Allen's History Topics. Paper, 25 cents. [Valuable for its topical outlines, its lists of historical novels, and other books for collateral reading.]

   c. Thomas's History of the United States. Half leather, illustrated, $1.10. [Especially helpful in its treatment of the political and economic development of the country.]

   d. Sheldon's Studies in American History. Half leather, illustrated, $1.25. [Unique in its methods of teaching and studying history, and for the large number of quiz-exercises and copies of original documents.]

   e. Dole's The American Citizen. Cloth, $1. [A good presentation for young readers.]

   f. Bancroft's History of the Formation of the Constitution. Cloth, $2.50. [Invaluable for a study of this period.]

   g. Von Holst's Constitutional Law, $2.

   h. Boutwell's The Constitution at the End of the First Century. Cloth, 430 pages, $3.50. [Contains the organic laws of the United States with historical notes and references to decisions.]

4. It will be found exceedingly interesting and helpful occasionally to prepare a series of questions leading to a comprehensive view of

various public matters. Refer the pupils to books and journals giving information and inciting to investigation.

5. At all times, so far as practicable, the reasons for the existence of various parts of the machinery of our government should be developed in the recitation. In assigning the lesson, look to the moral and ethical principles involved and ask questions that shall develop these.

6. As many teachers may wish to have a brief but valuable and helpful *Reference Library* for the use of classes in Civil Government, we have made arrangements to furnish the one below for $15, or, express prepaid, for $15.75.

REFERENCE LIBRARY.

		Mailing Price.
1.	Woodrow Wilson's The State	$2.00
2.	Bancroft's History of the Formation of the Constitution	2.50
3.	Sheldon's Studies in American History	1.25
4.	Boutwell's The Constitution at the End of the First Century	3.50
5.	Thomas's United States History	1.10
6.	Von Holst's Constitutional Law	2.00
7.	Wenzel's Comparative View of Governments	.15
8.	Dole's The American Citizen	1.00
9.	Allen's History Topics and References	.25
10.	Bryce's American Commonwealth	4.00
		$17.75

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

I. PREAMBLE.

Parties to the Compact. — "We the people of the United States."

Purposes.

1. To form a more perfect union.
2. To establish justice.
3. To insure domestic tranquillity.
4. To provide for the common defence.
5. To promote the general welfare.
6. To secure the blessings of liberty:
   - *a.* For themselves.
   - *b.* For posterity.

Thing Done. — "Do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

QUERIES.

1. What form of government preceded that under the Constitution?
2. Why was the change made? 65.
3. When and where made? 66. (Bancroft.)
4. By whom made — the States or the people?
5. What prominent men took part in the meeting to form the Constitution?
6. How long did the discussion last?
7. To whom was the Constitution reported?
8. By whom and how ratified?
9. Were the people unanimously for it?
10. What are the purposes of a government?

REFERENCES. — Sheldon's Studies in American History, pp. 203, 207, 211; Wilson's State and Federal Governments, pp. 21, 23, 24, 35; O. S. Leaflets, Nos. 3, 6, 19.

II. PARTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

1. The Law-Making Power. **1.**
2. The Law-Interpreting Power. **67.**
3. The Law-Executing Power. **55.**

THE LAW-MAKING POWER.

III. CONGRESS.

(p. 60, 65), composed of { 1. House of Representatives. **2.** 2. Senate. **2.**

QUERIES.

1. Why have three departments to the government?
2. Does Russia have the same three parts?
3. What are these parts called in England?
4. Should public officers be paid? Why?
5. Why have a national judiciary? 41, 88.
6. Why have a national legislature?
7. Which is the Upper House? Why so called?
8. Which the Lower House?
9. What does each House represent? 67.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

1. Composed of citizens. **4.**
2. Qualifications.
   1. Age?
   2. Citizen how long?
   3. Citizen where? **4.**
   4. How disqualified? **22.**
   5. Loyalty? **102.**
3. Elected.
   1. When? **3.**
   2. By whom? **3.**
   3. Electors? **3.**
   4. How? **15.**
4. Vacancies.
   1. How happen? **18, 100.**
   2. How filled? **17.**
5. Apportionment.
   1. Includes whom? **5.**
   2. When made? **5.**
   3. Upon what basis? **101.**
   4. Conditions? **100.**
6. Powers.
   1. Legislative. { With Senate. **2.** Exclusive. **3.**
   2. Of impeachment. **7.**
   3. Electoral. { **1, 9.** **2, 93.**

SENATE.

1. Composed of whom? **8.**
2. Qualifications.
   1. Age? **10.**
   2. A citizen, nine years.
   3. Inhabitant of?
   4. Office-holder? **22.**
   5. Chosen or appointed?
   6. Loyal? **102.**
3. Elected.
   1. By whom? **8.**
   2. For how long? **8.**
   3. How? **9.**
   4. When?
   5. Into what classes?
4. Vacancy.
   1. How happen? **9.**
   2. How filled?
5. Powers.
   1. To vote. **19.**
   2. Legislative. **2.**
   3. Elective. Officers. **12.** Vice-President.
   4. Of impeachment. **13.**
   5. Executive. Treaties. Appointment. **63.**
6. Presided over by
   - Vice-President U.S. **11.**
   - President *pro tem.* **12.**

QUERIES.

1. Why should a senator be older than a representative?
2. Why should Congressmen be citizens?
3. Why should senators hold office longer than representatives? 71.
4. Why have more than one House? 68.
5. What exclusive power given the House of Representatives? Why?
6. What exclusive functions of the Senate? Why?
7. On what basis is representation allowed?
8. What other basis could you suggest?
9. What change in the basis of apportionment? Why? Why is the term "slavery" not mentioned in the Constitution?
10. Who is responsible for legislation? 64, 131.

REFERENCES. — State and Federal Governments, pp. 98, 100, 102, 31; Sheldon's History, pp. 204, 205.

THE EXECUTIVE.

I. THE PRESIDENT.

1. Supreme Executive. **55.**
2. Term.
3. Election.
   - **By Electors.**
     1. How appointed? **56.**
     2. How many in each State?
     3. Process.
        1. Meet where? **96.**
        2. How vote?
        3. Make lists.
        4. Sign lists.
        5. Certify lists.
        6. Transmit lists.
        7. Direct lists.
     4. Before Congress.
        1. Lists opened by?
        2. In presence of?
        3. Counted by?
        4. Election.
        5. Non-election.
   - **By House of Representatives.**
     1. When?
     2. From whom? **96.**
     3. By ballot.
     4. By States.
     5. Quorum.
     6. Non-election.
4. Qualifications.
   1. Citizenship. **58.**
   2. Age.
   3. Residence.
   4. Oath of office. **61.**
5. Salary. **60.**
6. Removable. **66.**

REFERENCES. — Dawes' How we are Governed, pp. 167–8; Macy's Civil Government.

- 7. Powers and Duties.
  - 1. Military.
    1. Over army and navy. **62.**
    2. Over militia, conditional.
  - 2. Civil.
    1. Executive departments. **62.**
    2. Reprieves and pardons.
    3. Make treaties, conditional. **63.**
    4. Appoint
       1.
       2.
       3.
    5. Fill vacancies. **64.**
    6. Send messages. **65.**
    7. Convene Congress.
    8. Adjourn Congress.
    9. Receive ambassadors.
    10. Have laws executed.
    11. May veto laws. **24.**
    12. Must grant commissions. **65.**

II. VICE-PRESIDENT.

- 1. How elected.
  1. By Electors.
  2. By Congress.
  3. By Senate. **97.**
- 2. Qualifications.
  1. Eligible to Presidency. **97.**
  2. Oath of office. **83.**
- 3. Term.
- 4. Powers and Duties.
  1. President of Senate. **11.**
  2. Acting President of the United States. **59**

QUERIES.

1. Why have but one President? 77. (Bancroft.) (Wilson, p. 113.)
2. What does the President owe the people? 32.
3. Why not limit the Presidency to rich or highly educated men? **47.**
4. Why limit the power of the President?
5. Why should he be a native of the United States?
6. Why not elected by direct vote? (Wilson, p. 114.)
7. Who counts the electoral vote?
8. What important contest raised this question?
9. In case of non-election by votes of electors, why should the House rather than the Senate choose a President?
10. Why not elect a President for one year? For six years? For ten years?

THE JUDICIARY.

Composed of 67.
- Supreme Court.
  - Chief Justice.
  - Associate Justices.
- Subordinate Courts.
  - 1. Circuit Courts.
  - 2. District Courts.

Judges.
- Appointed by
  - 1. President and
  - 2. Senate. **63.**
- Removable
  - By impeachment.
  - For what? **66.**
- Tenure of office. **67.**
- Compensation.
  - How fixed?
  - When changed?
- Oath of office. **83.**

Functions.
- Judicial power extends to what? **68.**
- Original Jurisdiction. **69.**
- Appellate Jurisdiction. **69.**

QUERIES.

1. Why make the judges permanent office-holders? **86.**
2. Why give them larger salaries than to Congressmen?
3. Why have a national judiciary? 83.
4. Why not allow all judges to hold office during life or good behavior? 85.
5. Why heed the courts' decisions?
6. What are the chief purposes of judges? **87.**
7. What is a jury? 89.
8. Difference in purpose of the judge and the jury?
9. What is meant by the "common law"? By "statute law"?
10. What is meant by "equity"?

PROVISIONS COMMON TO SENATE AND HOUSE.

1. Membership. { Composed of. **17.** / Decided by.
2. Oath of office. **83.**
3. Quorum. { Composed of. **17.** / How secured ?
4. Salary. { How determined ? **21.** / How paid ?
5. Rules. **18.**
6. Journal. { Kept. **19.** / Published.
7. Yeas and Nays. **19.**
8. Things prohibited. { Adjournment. { How long ? **20.** / Where ? / Holding civil office. **22.** / Certain emoluments.
9. Penalties. { Punishment. **18.** / Expulsion.

QUERIES.

1. Why should each house decide as to qualifications of its members ?
2. What is a "quorum" of the House ? Of the Senate ?
3. When is a quorum present ? (See discussion over Speaker Reed's decision.)
4. Why should less than a quorum adjourn ?
5. What powers ought less than a quorum to have ? Why ?
6. Why keep a journal ?
7. Why publish a journal ?
8. What is the use of "Yeas and Nays" ?
9. Why not let one house adjourn permanently without the other ?
10. Why should each member vote ? 122, 65.

REFERENCES. — Any good book on Rules of Order; Bancroft's Formation of Constitution; Congressional Record.

BILLS, LAWS, RESOLUTIONS, ETC.

Bills and Laws.

- I. Courses.
  1. With executive approval.
  2. With executive veto.
  3. Without executive action.
- II. First Course.
  1. Bill passes Congress. **24.**
  2. Sent to the President.
  3. President approves.
- III. Second Course.
  1. Bill passes Congress. **24.**
  2. Sent to the President.
  3. President returns with objections.
  4. Objections entered on journal.
  5. Bill reconsidered.
  6. Approved by two-thirds.
  7. Vote taken.
  8. Votes recorded.
- IV. Third Course.
  1. Bill passes Congress. **24.**
  2. Presented to President.
  3. Not returned in ten days.
  4. Effect, Congress not adjourning.

Orders, etc.

1. Passed by Congress. **25.**
2. Exception.
3. Presented to President.
4. Approved or disapproved.
5. Treated as a bill.

QUERIES.

1. What are the parts of a bill?
2. Write a bill forbidding the smoking of cigarettes.
3. Offer an amendment to this bill.
4. What difference between a bill and a law?
5. What steps in the passage of a bill?
6. In what ways may a bill be defeated?
7. How does the President approve a bill?
8. How express his disapproval? 78.
9. Write, as President, your approval of the bill mentioned in (2).
10. Veto the bill in (2).

POWERS AND DUTIES OF CONGRESS.

I. AS TO REVENUES.

1. Sources of.
   1. Taxes, duties, imposts, excises. **26.**
   2. Borrowed money. **27.**
   3. Sale of lands. **78.**
   4. Sale of other property.

2. Uses of.
   1. To pay debts of the United States. **26.**
   2. To provide for common defence.
   3. To promote public welfare.

QUERIES.

1. Why should people pay taxes? 94, 101.
2. What difference between a direct and an indirect tax? Give examples.
3. What part of the time of Congress is taken up in raising and spending money? 143.
4. In what ways can Congress borrow money? 147.
5. Where and how does the government get its title to lands?
6. What is a tariff? Where collected? 99.
7. Why not raise all taxes on real estate or land? On personal property? On large incomes?
8. What is a poll tax? A license tax? Internal revenue?
9. For what ought the public money to be expended? 145.
10. What principles should govern a legislative body in raising taxes?
11. Should the government lend money to its citizens? 208, 212.

II. AS TO TRADE.

1. Kinds of Traffic.
   1. Domestic. **28.**
   2. Foreign.
   3. With Indians.

2. Means of Traffic.
   1. Coining money. **30.**
   2. Regulating value of money.
   3. Fixing standard weights, etc. **30.**
   4. Regulating bankruptcies. **29.**
   5. Establishing post-offices. **32.**

3. Hindrances removed by
   1. Punishing counterfeiting. **31.**
   2. Punishing piracy and felony. **35.**
   3. Protecting inventors, etc. **33.**

QUERIES.

1. What is the purpose of trade? Who is benefited? 237.
2. Is all profitable trade justifiable? Illustrate.
3. What usually controls the price of an article? 252.
4. Do not tariffs and other taxes raise the prices? Why allow this?
5. Why limit the coining and valuation of money to the general government alone? Can you coin paper money?
6. Why protect inventors? 303.

III. AS TO WAR.

1. Congress may declare.
2. May grant letters of marque and reprisal.
3. May regulate captures.
4. May raise and support armies. Limitation.
5. May provide and maintain a navy.
6. May establish rules for army and navy.
7. May call out militia
   1. To execute the laws.
   2. To suppress insurrections.
   3. To repel invasions.
8. May regulate militia as to
   1. Organization.
   2. Equipment.
   3. Discipline.
   4. Government.

QUERIES.

1. Why do wars occur? 257, 262, 297, 309.
2. How best prevented?
3. What are marque and reprisal?
4. What is it to declare war?
5. Why by Congress?
6. Who are the militia?
7. Why have militia?
8. What trouble did President Lincoln meet about the militia?
9. Why not keep a large standing army?
10. Should all able-bodied male citizens receive military training?

IV. AS TO COURTS AND PENALTIES.

1. Courts.
   1. Congress may constitute inferior tribunals. **34.**
   2. May define and punish international offences. **35.**
   3. May fix place of certain trials. **70.**
   4. May restrict jurisdiction. **69.**

2. Penalties for
   1. Crimes on the seas. **35.**
   2. Offences against laws of nations.
   3. Counterfeiting. **31.**
   4. Treason, with limitations. **72.**
   5. Violations of laws of special territory. **70.**

QUERIES.

1. What is the chief court of the United States?
2. Which are three of the subordinate courts?
3. What are international offences?
4. Why should Congress fix a place of trial?
5. Why have other than State courts?
6. Why have other than the supreme national court?
7. How many circuit courts? How constituted? Territory?
8. Is it better to punish wrong-doing or to prevent it?
9. How can courts become instruments of wrong? 89.
10. What is treason? How defined fully?
11. What is the purpose of punishment? 264.
12. What is an indeterminate sentence? Is it wise?
13. How can schools make a smaller number of courts necessary?
14. What are international rights? 303.

V. AS TO STATES AND SPECIAL TERRITORY.

As to States.
1. Congress may regulate election of its own members. **15.**
2. It may determine certain things as to electors. **57.**
3. State imposts may be restricted. **53.**
4. Proof of State records prescribed. **73.**
5. Effect of proofs fixed how?

As to Territory and Property.
1. Exclusive legislation for seat of government. **42.**
2. Authority over purchased territory.
3. May admit new States conditionally. **77.**
4. May dispose of territory, etc.

QUERIES.

1. Why should not Congress regulate all elections?
2. Who are electors?
3. What difference between a discretionary power and a mandatory one?
4. Can a state prevent the election of Congressmen?
5. What is a state impost? Of what value?
6. Why state what constitutes proof?
7. What is "eminent domain"? Upon what principle does it rest? 196. What rights imply?
8. How does any man acquire property in land? Upon what do all deeds rest? Why? 197.
9. Why should Congress control the seat of government?
10. Who makes laws for all territory not part of a State? Why?

MISCELLANEOUS POWERS, Etc.

1. Meetings. { How often? **16.** / When? / How changed?
2. Naturalization. Must be uniform. **29.**
3. Patents and copyrights. { Purpose. **33.** / Secure what? / For whose benefit?
4. Making of general laws. **43.**
5. The slave trade. { Recognized. **44.** / Abolished. **98.**
6. Legislation as to executive vacancy. **59.**
7. Inferior appointments. { 1. **61.** / 2. / 3.
8. Propose constitutional amendments. { 1. Original. **80.** / 2. By convention. / 3. Limitation.

QUERIES.

1. Why must Congress meet yearly? How long can it remain in session? Where must it meet?
2. Can one house prevent the assembling of Congress?

3. What is the purpose of naturalization? Should immigration be restricted? 313.
4. What is a patent? A copyright? How secured? What is an international copyright? Do you favor these? 182.
5. Was the slave trade ever directly legalized by the Constitution? Why abolish it? Its history.
6. Why not limit law-making power to particular subjects or objects?
7. Can Congress alter or amend the Constitution? Why provide for amendments?
8. Is there any part of the Constitution which cannot be amended?
9. What is the constitutional definition of an inferior officer? What danger in controlling his appointment? 109, 110.
10. What is the civil service law? Its purpose? Its value? 108.

OFFICE-HOLDERS.

Restrictions.
1. Upon Congressmen. **22.**
2. Upon office-holders.
3. As to presidential electors. **56.**
4. As to disloyal persons. **102.**
5. As to favors from foreign powers. **51.**

Term of Office.
1. Of senators. **8.**
2. Of representatives. **3.**
3. Of the President. **55.**
4. Of the Supreme Court. **67.**
5. Of the Cabinet.

Salaries.
1. Amount. **21.**
2. From what paid?

Impeachment.
1. Extent of judgment in. **66.**
2. Any further liability.
3. Who are liable to?
4. On what ground? **70.**

QUERIES.

1. Why require public officers to be loyal? 138.
2. Why not allow a Congressman to hold another office? Why restrict presidential electors? 159.
3. Who are office-seekers? Is it wrong to seek office? 110.
4. Who are politicians? What are "rings"? Caucuses?

5. Why not let every office-holder remain during life or good behavior? 111, 162.
6. How did the term "rotation in office" arise? 113. What is meant by the expression, "To the victors belong the spoils"? What idea underlies this?
7. How large should salaries be? What obligations do salaries imply?
8. Why provide for impeachment? On what grounds?
9. Why limit the punishment?

THE UNITED STATES ARE FORBIDDEN

1. To restrict slave trade.
   1. Limitations. **44.**
   2. When abolished? **98.**
2. To suspend *habeas corpus* — (Exceptions?) **45.**
3. To make such laws as
   1. Bill of attainder. **46.**
   2. Attainder of treason. **72.**
   3. *Ex post facto* law. **46.**
4. To lay direct tax (unless?) **47.**
5. To levy duties
   1. On domestic exports. **48.**
   2. On interstate commerce. **49.**
6. To give preference in trading to any State.
7. To pay public money
   1. For armies beyond two years. **37.**
   2. Without appropriation. **50.**
   3. Without published statements.
   4. For rebellion, etc.
8. To repudiate
   1. Territorial claims. **81.**
   2. Contracts.
   3. Public debt. **103.**
9. To grant title of nobility. **51.**
10. To prohibit freedom.
    - **Religious.**
      - Tests. **83.**
      - Kind. **85.**
      - Exercise.
    - **Civil.**
      - Speech. **85.**
      - Press. **85.**
      - Public assembly.
      - Petition.
      - Bearing arms. **86.**

QUERIES.

1. What is the "*habeas corpus*"? Why so important? Why suspended?

2. Define a writ. An attorney. A court. Bail. 90, 91.
3. Give the correct basis and principle of taxation. 94, 98, 101.
4. What are duties? For what purposes levied? Why restricted? 153.
5. What principles should govern in expending public money?
6. Should it be spent for internal improvements? Without limit?
7. Why limit war appropriations to two years?
8. What is repudiation? Why forbidden? Is repudiation not recognized as right in bankrupt laws?
9. What objection to titles of nobility? Principle?
10. Reasons for civil and religious freedom? Are freedom and license identical?

THE STATES ARE FORBIDDEN

1. In interstate relations.
   1. To make alliances, etc. **52.**
   2. To lay duties, except? **53.**
   3. To enter compacts, unless? **54.**
2. In commercial matters.
   1. To coin money. **52.**
   2. To emit bills of credit.
   3. To make legal tender, unless?
   4. To impair contracts. **52.**
3. To grant title of nobility. **52.**
4. In penalties.
   1. To pass bill of attainder. **52.**
   2. To pass *ex post facto* law.
5. In war.
   1. To engage, unless? **54.**
   2. To keep troops, etc.
   3. To make reprisals, etc. **52.**
6. To permit slavery. **98.**

QUERIES.

1. What is the supreme law of the land? Why?
2. Do all officers swear or affirm to support the Constitution of the United States? Any other?
3. Why restrict the States as to treaties? What was Æsop's fable as to the bundle of sticks? 61.
4. Can you tell anything about "wild-cat" banks?
5. Origin of money? Of coin? Of paper currency? 199.
6. Can the government cheat in making money? Are greenbacks money? Or bonds? 200, 202.
7. What is a contract? Why forbid a State to impair it?
8. What is an *ex post facto* law? Illustrate. Why objectionable?
9. Does not the State militia form part of State troops?
10. Are laws made for the rulers only? For the rich only? For the poor only? 298, 299, 134, 47.

THE STATES ARE SUBORDINATE

1. In official oaths.
   1. Of State legislators. **83.**
   2. Of State executives.
   3. Of State judicial officers.
2. In supreme authority.
   1. To United States Constitution. **82.**
   2. To United States laws.
   3. To United States treaties.
   4. To United States judiciary. **82.**
3. In State obligations.
   1. To constitutional amendments. **80.**
   2. To Constitution itself. **84.**

QUERIES.

1. What difference between the Confederation of 1776 and the Republic of 1787?
2. What difference between an oath and an affirmation? Who are permitted to affirm?
3. What is perjury? Does a man commit perjury in court if he tells only part of the truth?
4. Do laws make men good? Can you establish morality or temperance by law? 281, 291.
5. What is interstate commerce? Why not left to the States?
6. What was the "original-package" discussion?

RIGHTS OF THE STATES

1. To representation.
   1. In the House. Basis. **5.**
   2. In the Senate. Basis. **8, 9.**
2. In elections.
   1. Time. **15.**
   2. Place.
   3. Manner.
3. With militia.
   1. To appoint officers. **41.**
   2. To train by United States Manual.
4. In interstate relations. **73.**
5. As to citizenship.
   1. Immunities and privileges. **74.**
   2. Of States and the United States. **100.**
   3. Equal protection. **100.**
6. Making new States.
   1. By dismemberment. **77.**
   2. By junction.

7. As to fugitives.
   1. Not protected. **75.**
   2. Not delivered. **76.**

8. A guarantee.
   1. Of republican form. **79.**
   2. Of protection from invasion.
   3. Against insurrection, etc. **79.**

9. Reservation.
   1. Of rights not enumerated. **93.**
   2. Of rights not delegated. **94.**

QUERIES.

1. On what principle is representation based? Are women represented in governing bodies? Why?
2. Why should the States have control over certain things in the election of national officers? In the militia?
3. Does the United States Constitution define and fix citizenship? Why?
4. Why limit Congress in making new States?
5. What moral principle involved?
6. What is meant by a "republican form of government"?
7. On what principle is national protection based?
8. What is reserved to the States? Why?
9. Can an amendment be adopted contrary to the wish of any State? On what ground? 18, 12.

RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS.

1. Of senators and representatives.
   1. As to arrest. **21.**
   2. As to freedom of speech.

2. As to treason.
   1. Shall consist of? **71.**
   2. Conviction only by? **71.**

3. As to his house.
   1. In peace. **87.**
   2. In war.

4. Security.
   1. In what? **88.**
   2. Against what?
   3. Illegal warrants.

5. In criminal prosecutions.
   1. Kind of trial. **90, 91.**
   2. When tried?
   3. Where tried?
   4. Accusation. **89.**
   5. Witnesses must confront.
   6. May have counsel.
   7. Reasonable bail. **92**
   8. No excessive fines.
   9. No cruel or unusual punishments.

6. In civil actions.
   1. Jury trial, when? **89.**
   2. Second trial.

7. In the courts.
   1. Privileges. **89.**
   2. Indictment.
   3. Twice for same offence.
   4. Self-accusation. **89.**
   5. Due legal process. **100.**
   6. Compensation for property taken.
   7. Equal protection.

QUERIES.

1. What is an individual? Natural right? Legal right?
2. What distinction between freedom and license?
3. Were the Anarchists of Chicago arrested for free speech?
4. What is meant by "A man's home is his castle"?
5. What is a warrant? Why must it be specific, not general?
6. What idea underlies trial by jury? What is a grand jury? A petit jury?
7. Why have witnesses face the accused?
8. What is counsel? Is it provided by the State?
9. What is an indictment? Does it prove guilt?
10. What is the first object of government?
11. Is the public school a protection to the State? How?
12. How can the principles underlying these provisions of the Constitution be taught in the school?

GLOSSARY

OF IMPORTANT TERMS AS USED IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Acquittal. A discharge from accusation by judicial action.

Act. A law passed by a legislative body.

Adjournment. Act of suspending or postponing a meeting.

Administration. Management of public affairs; government of the country.

Admiralty. The name of a jurisdiction which takes charge of cases which arise out of maritime affairs and of crimes committed on the high seas.

Affirmation. A solemn declaration that one will tell the truth, made by one conscientiously opposed to taking a judicial oath.

Alien. A resident foreigner not naturalized.

Alliance. A union of nations or states for any common purpose.

Ambassador. A diplomatic officer of the highest rank commissioned to represent his government in a foreign country.

Amendment. An alteration in the constitution by change or addition.

Appellate Jurisdiction. Jurisdiction in cases of appeal.

Attainder, Bill of. A bill attainting persons of certain crimes by which their civil rights are forfeited.

Ballot. A piece of paper or other thing used in voting.

Bankrupt. One whom the law has formally declared as unable to pay his debts.

Bill of Rights. A summary of the rights and privileges claimed by the people.

Cabinet. The constitutional advisers of the President.

Capital Crime. A crime punishable with death.

Capitation Tax. A tax levied on individuals, as a poll tax.

Census. An official enumeration of the inhabitants of a country.

Citizen. An inhabitant of a country who enjoys the rights of a free man.

Colony. A foreign settlement under the jurisdiction of the mother country.

Commission. A document issued by a government conferring rank, power, or authority, on the person or persons therein named.

Common Law. The unwritten law of England, the basis of judicial proceedings of all English-speaking peoples.

Compromise. An agreement between contending parties in which concessions are made by each side.

Concurrence. Agreement; approval.

Confederacy or Federation. A union between states for a common object.

Consul. An officer commissioned in foreign countries. His chief duty is to protect the commerce of his own country.

Contract. A lawful agreement between two or more parties.

Conviction. A judgment that the person accused is guilty.

Court. One or more persons sitting in a judicial capacity for the trial of causes.

Crime. An offence against the laws of the land and to which a penalty is attached.

Duty. Any sum of money required by the government to be paid on goods.

Elector. One who has the right to vote; also one chosen to cast the vote of his constituency for the President and Vice-President of the United States.

Eligible. Qualified for office.

Emancipation. Liberation from bondage or slavery.

Emolument. Remuneration of any kind connected with any office or occupation.

Equity. The correction of the law where it is defective in particular cases; redress of a wrong.

Excise. Duty on home commodities.

Executive. Having the powers of executing or carrying into effect; an official personage or body charged with the administration of government.

Felony. A crime punishable with imprisonment or death.

Forfeiture. Losing one's possessions as a penalty for crime.

Habeas Corpus. (Literally, "You may have the body.") A writ having for its object to bring a party before a judge or court to inquire into the cause of his imprisonment.

High Seas. The ocean beyond the limit of three miles from the shore.

Immunity. Freedom from duty or penalty granted by law.

Impeachment. An arraignment of a public officer under a written formal accusation of crime or misdemeanor for which he should be removed from office.

Imposts. Taxes or duties, especially on imports.

Involuntary Servitude. Service under compulsion.

Journal. A record of proceedings.

Judgment. A decision reached by a court.

Judicial. Pertaining to a court or judge; law-interpreting.

Jurisdiction. The limit within which power may be exercised.

Jury. A number of men (generally twelve) to decide the issue in any case at law.

Law of Nations. The common law of nations regulating their intercourse in peace and their relations in war.

Legislative. Having the power to make or enact laws.

Letters of Marque and Reprisal. A license or extraordinary commission granted by a government to its subjects to take the property of a foreign state or of its citizens or subjects for injuries supposed to have been received.

Majority. More than half.

Militia. A body of soldiers enrolled in the state to be called on in emergencies.

Minister. A representative at a foreign court; an ambassador.

Misdemeanor. A crime less than a felony.

Naturalization. The process by which an alien becomes a citizen.

Oath. A solemn declaration with an appeal to God for its truth.

Order. A direction, command, or regulation, made by authority.

Original Jurisdiction. Authority to try a cause for the first time.

Pardon. Release of an offender without further punishment.

Party. Plaintiff or defendant in a law suit.

Piracy. Robbery on the high sea.

Plenipotentiary. An ambassador invested with full powers to negotiate for his government.

Plurality. The greatest of two or more numbers, whether it be a majority or not.

Pro Tempore. For the time.

Quorum. A sufficient number to transact business; unless otherwise ordered, a majority.

Ratification. The act of confirming.

Rebellion. Open resistance to lawful authority.

Reprieve. Temporary suspension of a sentence.

Resolution. Something determined upon by the vote of an assembly, distinguished from a bill.

Revenue. The total income of a government.

Revolution. A complete change of government due to a revolt.

Secession. Act of withdrawing or separating.

Securities. Written or printed promises for payment of money, *e.g.* bonds.

Session. The time between the first meeting of an assembly and its final adjournment.

Speaker. The presiding officer of the House of Representatives.

State Sovereignty. The right claimed by some states of acting independently of the general government.

Suffrage. A vote; the right of voting.

Suit. A judicial action for recovery of a right or redress of a wrong.

Tariff. A table of duties on merchandise payable to the government.

Tax. An impost; a duty; a charge laid by the government on the income or property of individuals for the support of the government.

Territory. A tract of land, under a temporary government, belonging to the United States.

Treason. See "Constititution of United States," Art. 3, Sec. 3.

Treaty. A compact, between two or more nations or sovereigns, drawn in legal form.

Tribunal. A court of justice; any judicial body.

Valid. Sufficient and effective in law.

Veto. (I forbid.) The refusal of the executive to sign a bill passed by Congress or the Legislature.

Warrant. A judicial order authorizing arrests, searches, or seizures.

Writ. A written order issued by a court or magistrate.

Yeas and Nays. A vote by roll call in which each member answers yea or nay as his name is called.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN[1]

UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
I. Constitution.	**I. Constitution.**
Adoption: Present Constitution adopted September 17, 1787.	There is no written Constitution except ordinary law and precedent. Five documents lie at the foundation of what is called the Unwritten Constitution. They are: 1. Magna Charta, by King John, 1215; 2. Petition of Rights, *temp.* Charles I, 1628; 3. Habeas Corpus Act, *temp.* Charles II, 1679; 4. Bill of Rights, *temp.* William and Mary, 1689; 5. Act of Settlement, *temp.* William III, 1701.
Amendments: Congress may, by two-thirds vote of both Houses, propose amendments to the Constitution, or upon application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, must be ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof.	
Form of Government: Republic.	*Form of Government:* Monarchy in form, but Republic in practice.
II. Chief Magistrate. President of the United States.	**II. Sovereign.** King (or Queen) of Great Britain and Ireland, and Emperor (or Empress) of India.

[1] Copyright, 1891, by John Wenzel.

UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
Term of Office:	*Term of Office:*
Elected for four years by the Electoral College, and is re-eligible.	Holds office for life, by hereditary title, subject to the conditions of the Act of Settlement.
The Electoral College consists of Electors appointed by each State equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which each State may be entitled in Congress. Their only duties are the election of the President and Vice-President of the United States.	
Qualifications:	*Qualifications:*
Must be a natural born citizen, fourteen years a resident of the United States, and at least thirty-five years of age.	Must be a descendant of Princess Sophia of Hanover, must be a Protestant member of the Church of England, and married only to a Protestant.
Succession:	*Succession:*
In case of his death, resignation, or inability, the Vice-President takes his place.	Hereditary, following the law of primogeniture.
The newly chosen President of the Senate has the title of Vice-President. In case of the inability of both President and Vice-President, the Secretary of State, and after him, in the order of the creation of their offices, the other members of the Cabinet, act as President until the disability of the President is removed, or a new President shall be elected.	
Responsibility:	*Responsibility:*
May be impeached by the House of Representatives,	Cannot be removed. The Ministers are personally re-

UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
and tried by the Senate for treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.	sponsible for the misconduct of the Sovereign.
Powers and Duties:	*Powers and Duties:*
Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of the militia in the service of the Union.	Has command of the army and navy.
May convene Congress on extraordinary occasions.	Parliament cannot be assembled, prorogued, or dissolved except by the express command of the Sovereign.
Must inform Congress of the state of the Union, and may recommend measures to Congress: this is known as the President's Message.	At the commencement of a new Parliament must deliver, either in person or by a commission authorized for that purpose, a speech declaring the cause of the summons.
Bills passed by Congress must receive the President's signature in order to become laws; but bills not returned by him unsigned to Congress within ten days become laws without his signature.	Bills passed by Parliament must receive the assent of the Sovereign in order to become law.
Has power to veto any bill or resolution passed by Congress, but subject to the power of Congress to pass the same after reconsideration by a two-thirds majority in each House.	Has legally a veto power; but, because the influence of the Executive over legislation has passed into the hands of the Ministers, the veto of the Crown has been disused since 1707.
Appoints and commissions all Federal officers with the	Has power to appoint all officers in the army and navy,

UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
advice and consent of the Senate.	judges, ambassadors, colonial governors, bishops and archbishops of the Established Church, and grants all degrees of nobility.
May make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate.	May make treaties of any kind.
Has power to grant reprieves or pardons for offenders against the United States, except in case of impeachment.	May grant pardon to any particular offender.
III. Cabinet.	**III. Cabinet.**
Number of Members:	*Number of Members:*
Nine.	From ten to eighteen.
Appointment:	*Appointment:*
Chosen by the President, but must be approved by the Senate.	Nominated from both Houses by the leader of the dominant party in majority in Parliament and appointed and commissioned by the Sovereign. The leader becomes the Prime Minister.
Relations to Congress:	*Relations to Parliament:*
Do not have seats in Congress.	Are the leaders of Parliament, shaping and directing the business of the Houses.
Tenure of Office:	*Tenure of Office:*
May be removed by the President.	Dependent upon the favor of the House of Commons; for if not sustained they must all resign.

UNITED STATES

Responsibility:

Responsible to the President.

Powers and Duties:

Meets in consultation with the President concerning matters of policy and administration. Each Minister is at the head of an executive department.

Members of the Cabinet:

1. Secretary of State.
2. Secretary of the Treasury.
3. Secretary of War.
4. Attorney-General.
5. Postmaster-General.
6. Secretary of the Navy.
7. Secretary of the Interior.
8. Secretary of Agriculture.
9. Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

GREAT BRITAIN

Responsibility:

Responsible to the House of Commons.

Powers and Duties:

All real authority is with the Cabinet. The executive government is nominally in the Crown, but practically in the Cabinet. The Ministers are at the heads of the administrative departments. The Sovereign does not sit with the Cabinet.

Members of the Cabinet:

1. Prime Minister, and First Lord of the Treasury.
2. Lord High Chancellor.
3. Lord President of the Council.
4. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
5. Secretary of State for the Home Department.
6. Secretary of State for War.
7. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
8. Secretary of State for Colonies.
9. Secretary of State for India.
10. First Lord of the Admiralty.
11. Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
12. Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
13. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
14. President of the Board of Trade.
15. Lord Privy Seal.
16. President of the Local Government Board.
17. President of the Board of Agriculture.

UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
IV. Congress.	**IV. Parliament.**
1. SENATE.	1. HOUSE OF LORDS.
Composition:	*Composition:*
Composed of two Senators from each State (90 in 1906), chosen by the State Legislatures for six years, one-third retiring every two years.	Composed of about 590 peers, who hold their seats: *a.* By virtue of hereditary title; *b.* By creation of the Sovereign; *c.* By virtue of office (English bishops); *d.* By election for life (Irish peers); *e.* By election for duration of Parliament (Scottish peers).
Qualifications:	*Qualifications:*
Must be at least thirty years of age, must have been a citizen of the United States for nine years, and must be an inhabitant of the State which he represents.	Must be at least twenty-one years of age.
Remuneration:	*Remuneration:*
$5000, with mileage.	Receive no pay.
Organization:	*Organization:*
The Vice-President of the United States is the President of the Senate. Is elected by the Electoral College. Votes only in case of a tie.	The Lord Chancellor, who is a member of the Cabinet, presides.
Committees:	*Committees:*
Members are divided into standing committees, chosen by the Senate itself, which	Special committees are appointed to make investigations, and report on matters

UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
act in the preliminary examination, and shaping of measures to be voted on.	which could not be undertaken by the whole House.
Quorum:	*Quorum:*
A majority of members.	Three, including the Lord Chancellor.
Powers and Duties:	*Powers and Duties:*
In concurrence with the House of Representatives, it makes the laws. It also has power to confirm or reject all appointments to office by the President of the United States, and all treaties. The members constitute a high court for the trial of impeachments.	In concurrence with the House of Commons, makes the laws, having a revising power over all bills proposed by the House of Commons, except those relating to public revenue and expenditure which it must pass or reject without amendment. It is also the supreme court of appeal.
2. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.	2. HOUSE OF COMMONS.
Composition:	*Composition:*
Composed (in 1906) of 390 members elected every second year for two years by the people of the States in the proportion of one Representative for every 194,182 inhabitants. Each State, however, is entitled to at least one member, whatever its population.	Composed (in 1905) of 670 members, elected by secret ballot for a term of seven years. As a matter of fact, Parliament has always been dissolved before the expiration of seven years, thus necessitating a new election.
Qualifications:	*Qualifications:*
Must be at least twenty-five years of age, must have been seven years a citizen of	Must be at least twenty-one years of age. Clergymen are disqualified from

UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
the United States, and must be an inhabitant of the State from which he is chosen.	sitting as members, also English and Scottish peers, government contractors, and sheriffs and returning officers for the localities for which they act.
Remuneration:	*Remuneration:*
$5000 and mileage.	Receive no pay.
Organization:	*Organization:*
Elects its own presiding officer, who is called the Speaker.	Elects its own presiding officer, who is called the Speaker.
Committees:	*Committees:*
Almost all the acts of the House are under the control of Standing Committees, appointed by the Speaker.	The business of the House is almost entirely under the direction of the Ministry; however, commissions and select committees are from time to time appointed to make investigations and report on matters which could not be undertaken by the House.
Quorum:	*Quorum:*
A majority of members.	Forty members, including the Speaker.
Powers and Duties:	*Powers and Duties:*
May originate and, in concurrence with the Senate, pass resolutions and bills. Bills relating to the raising of revenue must be originated by the House, but may be amended by the Senate. Has sole power of impeachment.	May originate and, in concurrence with the House of Lords, pass resolutions and bills; but bills relating to the imposition of taxes and the granting of supplies for the service of the State must be originated in the House of Commons.

ADVERTISEMENTS

AMERICA'S STORY FOR AMERICA'S CHILDREN

By MARA L. PRATT.

A series of history readers which present the personal and picturesque elements of the story in a way as attractive to young readers as romance, and which will supplement the regular instruction in history in an effective manner.

Every statement of fact is historically accurate and the illustrations are correct even to the smallest details. Unusual care has been taken in these matters.

These books are effectively illustrated in black and white and in color; are bound in attractive and artistic cloth covers; uniform in size, 6¼ x 7¾; printed on extra heavy paper, in large type and contain about 160 pages each.

Book I. The Beginners' Book. 35 cents.
A delightful story book, developing centers of interest through picturesque and personal incidents.

Book II. Exploration and Discovery. 40 cents.
The great explorers and discoverers from Lief Ericson to Henry Hudson.

Book III. The Earlier Colonies. 40 cents.
An accurate and fascinating account of the first settlements and the 13 colonies.

Book IV. The Later Colonial Period. 40 cents.
Settlements in the Mississippi Valley, The French and Indian Wars, etc.

Book V. The Revolution and the Republic. 40 cents.
The causes that led to it, the men who guided events, and subsequent civil history.

Descriptive circular free on request

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago

AN ELEMENTARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

By ALLEN C. THOMAS, A. M.

Author of "A History of the United States," and Professor of History in Haverford College.

THE Elementary History is for the use of younger classes, and serves as an introduction to the author's larger History of the United States.

Effort has been made to present such important phases of national growth as the difficulties and dangers of exploration, and how they were overcome by earnestness and perseverance; the risks and hardships of settlement, and how they were met and conquered; the independence and patriotism of the colonists, and how they triumphed; the effect of environment upon character; the development of the people in politics and government and in social life; and the progress of invention and its effect upon national development.

Realizing the fascination that the personalities of our national heroes have for the young, the author has chosen those men who best illustrate the important periods in the making of our nation, and in a series of interesting biographical sketches uses their lives as centers around which the history is written. Thus the book has all the freshness and vitality, all the rapidity of action, and all the interest, of tales of patriotism and courage and untiring endurance, and yet preserves accuracy of fact and due proportion of importance of events.

Cloth. 357 pages. Maps and illustrations. Introduction price, 60 cents.

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston New York Chicago

THE HEATH READERS

A new series, that excels in its

1. Interesting and well graded lessons.
2. Masterpieces of English and American literature.
3. Beautiful and appropriate illustrations.
4. Clear and legible printing.
5. Durable and handsome binding.
6. Adaptation to the needs of modern schools.

THE HEATH READERS enable teachers, whether they have much or little knowledge of the art, to teach children to read intelligently and to read aloud intelligibly. They do this without waste of time or effort, and at the same time that the books aid pupils in acquiring skill in reading, they present material which is in itself worth reading.

The purpose of the HEATH READERS is, *first*, to enable beginners to master the mechanical difficulties of reading successfully and in the shortest time; *second*, to develop the imagination and cultivate a taste for the best literature; *third*, to appeal to those motives that lead to right conduct, industry, courage, patriotism, and loyalty to duty. The larger purpose is, briefly, to aid in developing an appreciation of that which is of most worth in life and literature.

The series contains seven books, as follows:

Primer, 128 pages, 25 cents.
First Reader, 130 pages, 25 cents.
Second Reader, 176 pages, 35 cents.
Third Reader, 256 pages, 40 cents.
Fourth Reader, 320 pages, 45 cents.
Fifth Reader, 352 pages, 50 cents.
Sixth Reader, 352 pages, 50 cents.

Descriptive circulars sent free on request.

D. C. HEATH & CO., Publishers, Boston, New York, Chicago

STORIES FROM ENGLISH HISTORY

Edited and adapted by

HENRY P. WARREN, L.H.D.

Principal of the Albany Academy

THESE stories are written by English historical scholars of high repute, and have been carefully adapted to the needs of American schools by Principal Warren of the Albany Academy. History in this book is, as it ought to be, animated and animating. The subjects chosen for narration are stirring in their incidents and picturesque in their details. The book has positive literary merit, and in a clear and charming style treats the important events and characters in English history from the Roman invasion to the reign of Edward VII.

The stories have been arranged in historical sequence and grouped in their proper relations, and particular attention has been paid to those events which have influenced American history. The book is intended for supplementary reading in the upper grammar grades and is an admirable introduction to the formal study of United States history and regular course in English history. Especial attention has been given to the illustrations and maps, which are numerous and suggestive.

Decorated cloth cover. 492 pages. Fully illustrated. Price 65 cents.

D. C. HEATH & CO., *Publishers*

BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO LONDON